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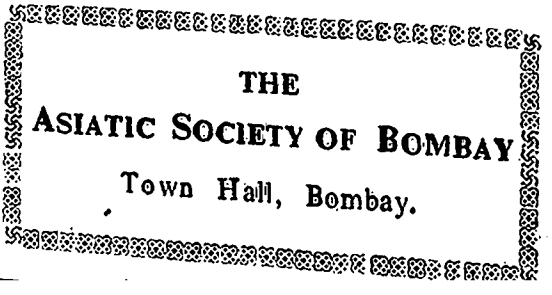

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A HISTORY

OF THE

ROYAL NAVY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

EXPEDITION OF THE KNIGHTS OF
FRANCE AND ENGLAND, UNDER THE DUKE OF BOURBON,
TO AFRICA IN 1390. —— FROISSART, HARLEIAN MSS. 4379. FO 115.

London, Published by Richard Bentley 1842

A HISTORY

OF THE

ROYAL NAVY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY

SIR NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, G.C.M.G.

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THE FIRST VOLUME.

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The King's Navy exceeds all others in the world for three things, viz. beauty, strength, and safety. For beauty, they are so many Royal palaces; for strength, so many moving castles and barbicans; and for safety, they are the most defensive walls of the Realm. Amongst the Ships of other Nations, they are like lions amongst silly beasts, or falcons amongst fearful fowle.

LORD COKE'S FOURTH INSTITUTE.

TO

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THIS

History of the Royal Navy

IS,

WITH HER MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS PERMISSION,

MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HER MAJESTY'S MOST DUTIFUL, FAITHFUL, AND OBEDIENT

SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

PREFACE.

That England, though long the first maritime country of the world, has no adequate History of the foundation, rise, or establishment of that mighty Navy to which she owes alike her own security, and her pre-eminence among Nations, is well known.

If it were necessary to ascertain the causes of this extraordinary neglect of a branch of National History, which ought to possess the highest interest for a literary and a patriotic people, there would be no difficulty in discovering them.

To supply this defect is the object of the following Work, and thus to rescue our literature from such reproaches as those of a learned Foreigner, who, after examining the archives of France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal for materials for his valuable work on Naval Archæology, says, "L'Angleterre possède fort peu de chose"!

Nor was his mistake surprising; for certainly the works called Histories of the English Navy contain little that was suitable for his purpose.

Almost everything that has been hitherto published on the maritime affairs of England before the sixteenth century was derived from the accounts given by Chroniclers of sea-fights and predatory incursions; but such narratives afford a very imperfect idea of the size and equipment of ships, and contain none of those details with which the Public Records abound, and from which alone a satisfactory knowledge of the creation, progress, and regular organization of the Royal Navy can be obtained.

These genuine and copious sources of information have never before (incredible as it must seem) been consulted for a History of the English Navy; and from the immense mass of facts which they yield, an authentic, and, it is hoped, a valuable and interesting History of the Royal Navy may be written.

The design of this Work will perhaps be best understood, by describing the plan and contents of the present Volume.

No better mode of treating the subject suggested itself, than to consider that it admitted of two divisions:—

I. The Civil History; containing the formation, economy, and government of the Navy.
II. The Military History.

To the First Division belong the construction, the size, rig, appearance, tonnage, armament, stores, equipment, and expense of the various classes of vessels; the manner in which ships and seamen were obtained by the Crown, and the number and description of the officers and crews, their pay, provisions, prize-money, and discipline. Under this division everything else relating to the Navy has been noticed; namely, the Cinque Ports, dockyards, lighthouses, pilotage, maritime laws, the law of wreck, taxes and other contributions for Naval subsidies, the Court of Admiralty, the right of England to the Sovereignty of the Seas, the invention of the compass and of the modern rudder, the National flag, &c. To these statements are added biographical notices of the Admirals and other persons who have

been eminently distinguished for their talents or prowess at sea.

The Second Division treats only of active Naval proceedings; that is to say, the employment of ships in piratical acts, military expeditions, remarkable voyages, and, of course, all Sea-fights.

This classification of subjects involves an occasional but inevitable repetition of the same facts, especially when it was necessary to investigate the origin of any institution or office, such, for example, as that of "Admiral."

It was originally intended that this Work should commence with the Norman Conquest, but it was found impossible to pass over the Anglo-Saxon Navy; and, as a few pages would comprise all that could properly be said of maritime affairs in the antecedent period of the ancient Britons and Romans, the narrative is carried back to the earliest period of British history for which any, except fabulous, materials can be found, and is brought down in the present Volume to the end of the reign of King Edward the Second.

No transaction, unless directly connected with the Navy, has been mentioned; and

nothing more has been said, even of the political causes which led to the employment of ships, than was absolutely necessary to account for it: hence the Work will be strictly confined to its immediate object.

In no instance has any other authority been relied upon, (although every History of the English Navy, and other modern works on the subject, have been consulted,) than such as were *contemporary* with the events which they relate. It is from the Chroniclers that the narratives of expeditions and sea-fights have been derived, but all the details which afford accurate and complete information of Naval matters have now, for the first time, been taken from the records of the Kings' mandates for fitting out and disposing of ships and squadrons, and for the payment of expenses incurred for nautical purposes.

To superficial or impatient readers many of the minute facts may appear tedious and unimportant; but such details are indispensable for a thorough knowledge of any particular department of History; and when the present gigantic ships of war, or the great Naval battles of modern times, present themselves to the

mind, it should be remembered that this Work, and especially this Volume, treats of the birth, nurture, and education of that infant Hercules whom we now contemplate in all the strength and beauty of manhood, and whose deeds have astounded the world. Even the most general reader will, however, find enough of exciting events to satisfy his taste; for there is ample evidence of the adventurous spirit, indomitable courage, and professional skill of English seamen in all ages.

The Author owes it to himself to declare, that he has not coloured, and will not colour, any fact with the view of gratifying the National pride; that his only desire is to seek the truth, to find the truth, and to tell the truth; that he has not, consciously, neglected any source of information; and that he has shrunk from no details, however laborious or minute; nor has he intentionally omitted to notice any department of his subject.

It will be seen that the shipping, and the nature of Naval warfare, in the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth century, have been illustrated from Foreign sources; and many of those statements are of great professional value,

and much general interest. Graphical representations of ships, at different periods, have been inserted whenever contemporary drawings could be found; and the wood-cuts are as nearly as possible fac-similes of the originals.

The authority for every statement is invariably given: and whenever the expression was technical or peculiar, or described any particular kind of vessel, or anything belonging to one, the original words are inserted. Moreover, some of the most important statements, and the most curious documents illustrative of the subject, are given at length in an APPENDIX. Among these articles are the account of King Richard the First's action with a Turkish ship, and of the important Sea-fight off Dover in the reign of King Henry the Third,—being the two greatest Naval battles of the period over which this Volume extends; together with copies of the commissions issued to Admirals, as well as of the mandates by which ships and men were impressed for the service of the Crown.

The Author begs leave to offer his warmest thanks to his friends THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Records, for his un-

wearied and invaluable assistance in every department of his labours; to the Viscount Strangford, and to Sir Charles George Young, Garter, for much and various information. He is also greatly indebted to Rear-Admiral Lord Radstock, C.B., for his kindness in allowing him the free use of his extensive and curious Naval library; and to Thomas Wright, Esq.

Torrington Square.
February 24th, 1847.

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A

HISTORY OF THE ROYAL NAVY.

CHAPTER I.

SHIPS AND COMMERCE OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.—VENETAN FLEET DEFEATED BY CÆSAR.—INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE ROMANS.—ANGLO-SAXON NAVY.—NORTHERN SEA-KINGS.—NAVAL IMPROVEMENTS OF ALFRED.—EDGAR ROWED ON THE DEE.—DANISH SHIPS.—CANUTE'S REBUKE TO HIS COURTIERS.—SAXON MARINE LAWS.—TOLLS.—TAXES FOR NAVAL PURPOSES; DANEGELD.—HEREGELD.—ANGLO-SAXON SAILORS.

British period.

SHIPS, or rather large boats, must have been coeval with the colonization of Britain by the Celts; and her ancient British name "Clas Merdin,"[a]—"the sea-defended green spot,"—indicated alike her fertility and natural protection. The wants of an insular people soon taught the Britons commerce; and, even if vessels had not become necessary for defence, they were required for fishing, and to convey the produce of their rude agriculture and still ruder manufactures from one part of the Island to another.

If any reliance can be placed on the traditions, afterwards committed to writing, called The Triads, "the roving fleets of Britain," and the supposed inven-

[a] Cambro-Briton, vol. i. p. 8.

British period.

tion of a sail and rudder for ships, had been commemorated by her bards.[a]

Though little is recorded of the vessels dignified by the name of "ships," it may be safely inferred that the largest of them was only a sort of coracle, constructed of twigs covered with ox-hides,[b] capable of holding three or four persons, and, in summer, of passing to Ireland and across the British Channel. A small sail on a single mast, a paddle like the ancient clavus over each quarter for a rudder, and a few oars, seem to have completed the furniture of these frail barks, whose farthest voyages did not occupy more than six days.

Long before the invasion of the Romans, a regular traffic existed between Britain and Gaul,[c] principally in tin, which was conveyed from the Scilly Isles to Gaul, and thence by horses to Rome. The people who dwelt near the Land's End are described as having been singularly fond of strangers, and, from their intercourse with foreign merchants, civilized in their habits. According to Strabo, Britain was used as a mart by the Gauls, from the Rhine, the Seine, the

[a] The Triads state that Corvenwr, the bard of Ceri, first made a ship with a sail and rudder for the nation of the Cymry. Cambro-Briton, vol. II. p. 389.

[b] These coracles were the model of the boats constructed by Cæsar to carry his soldiers across a river when he was pressed by Afranius' army. (De Bello Civili, lib. I. c. liv.) "Cæsar ordered the soldiers to build some light boats, in imitation of those he had formerly seen in Britain, whose keel and ribs were of wood, and the rest of wicker, covered with leather." These boats are similarly described by Lucan. See also Selden's Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. ii.

[c] Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. III. § xxi. Though the Gauls traded with Britain, they were, or pretended to be, so entirely unacquainted with the country that Cæsar could obtain no information respecting their harbours, customs, or art of war; and as it is said that scarcely any of them, except merchants, had been in England, Selden infers, not very reasonably, that Britain then asserted her sovereignty of the sea. (Mare Clausum, lib. II. c. ii.) Cæsar adds, that the Britons were informed of his intention to invade Britain by the merchants who traded thither. Cæsar, IV. 20.

Loire, and the Garonne. He states that the Phœnicians brought tin from Scilly to Gadeira, and mentions a nautical stratagem by which they vainly endeavoured to conceal their commerce from the Romans. British period.

Some improvements must have been made in the construction of British ships, before the arrival of the Romans; and the description which Cæsar gives of the vessels of the Veneti, a people settled near the entrance of the Loire, may with certainty be applied to those of this country, because it is unlikely that there should have been any material difference between them, and because the Venetan fleet had been reinforced from Britain. "Their ships," says Cæsar, "were built and fitted out in this manner: their bottoms were somewhat flatter than ours, the better to adapt them to the shallows, and to sustain without danger the ebbing of the tide. Their prows were very high and erect, as likewise their sterns, to bear the hugeness of the waves, and the violence of tempests. The hull of the vessel was entirely of oak, to stand the shocks and assaults of that tempestuous ocean. The benches of the rowers were made of strong beams about a foot in breadth, and were fastened with iron bolts an inch thick. Instead of cables, they fastened their anchors with chains of iron;[a] and used skins and a sort of thin pliant leather for sails, either because they wanted canvass, and were ignorant of the art of making sail-cloth, or, which is more probable, because they imagined that canvass sails were not so proper to bear the violence of tempests, the rage and fury of the winds, and to propel ships of that bulk and burthen. Between our fleet

[a] "Anchoræ, pro funibus, catenis ferreis revinctæ."

British period.

and vessels of such a construction the encounter was this. In agility, and a ready command of oars, we had the advantage; but in other respects, regarding the situation of the coast, and the assaults of storms, all things ran very much in their favour: for neither could our ships injure them with their prows, so great was their strength and firmness; nor could we easily throw in our darts, because of their height above us, which also was the reason that we found it extremely difficult to grapple with the enemy, and bring them to close fight. Add to all this, that when the sea began to rage, and they were forced to submit to the winds, they could both weather the storm better, and more securely trust themselves among the shallows, because they feared nothing from the rocks and cliffs upon the ebbing of the tide."[a]

Cæsar having resolved to await the arrival of his fleet, it was no sooner seen by the Venetans than about two hundred and twenty of their best ships, well fitted for service, and armed with all kinds of weapons, formed a line of battle. The Roman commanders, aware that the enemy's ships were proof against the prows of their galleys, were doubtful how to proceed; and though they erected turrets on their decks, yet, being still overtopped by the lofty sterns of the Venetans, they could not throw their darts on-board them, while the missiles of the Gauls, being impelled from an eminence, fell with great violence on their men. In this emergency, the Romans had recourse to a novel artifice. They affixed scythes to long poles, and, having fastened them in the enemy's rigging, rowed off their galleys. The ropes by which

[a] De Bello Gallico, lib. III. § xiii. Duncan's translation.

the yard of each vessel was suspended were thus cut away; and, the sail falling, their vessels became unserviceable, because the Gauls depended entirely upon their sails and rigging. Thus disabled, the Venetans tried in vain to escape; a dead calm ensued, and the Romans obtained a complete victory.[a] British period.

On his first invasion of Britain, Cæsar, observing that his soldiers were appalled by the manner in which they were encountered, ordered some of his galleys, a kind of vessel less common with the natives, and more easily managed than the transports, to advance a little beyond those ships towards the shore, and attack them in flank. This proved of considerable service; for the surprise occasioned by the form of the galleys, the motion of the oars, and the working of the engines, caused the Britons to halt, and soon after to give way.[b]

Finding that the ships used in the Mediterranean were not suited for northern seas, Cæsar ordered a particular class of vessels to be built for his second invasion of Britain. He directed that they should be lower than his former ones, for the convenience of loading and landing, on account of the shallowness of the British coast; and he increased their width that they might carry a greater number of horses,[c] and at the same time be light and fleet, to which object lowness in the water greatly contributed. On his return from Italy, he found that, notwithstanding the scarcity

[a] De Bello Gallico, lib. III. § xiv. Duncan's translation.

[b] Lib. IV. § xxv. Some observations on the place where Cæsar landed, by Major Rennell, are printed in the Archæologia, XXI. p. 501, who considers that he made his descent on both occasions between Dover and Walmer.

[c] Cæsar also brought with him, according to Polynæus, a very large elephant, an animal which had never before been seen in Britain; and which, cased in iron, and with a tower on his back containing archers, excited the greatest terror in the natives.

British period.

of materials, no less than six hundred transports had been built according to the above-mentioned plan, and that twenty-eight galleys were nearly ready for launching. Strabo says that these ships were of an intermediate size between Cæsar's own swift-sailing vessels, and those of burthen which he had obtained in Gaul, that they might be as buoyant as possible, and yet resist the waves, and be left on the strand without injury.

The whole of the Roman fleet assembled at Portus Itius,[a] in Gaul; except forty of the ships which had been previously wrecked by a storm. Cæsar's passage across the channel is thus graphically described: "He weighed anchor about sunset with five legions, and the same number of horse he had left with Labienus, and, advancing with a gentle south wind, continued his course till midnight, when he found himself becalmed; but, the tide still driving him on, at daybreak he saw Britain on his left. When, again following the return of the tide, he rowed with all his might, to reach that part of the island which he had marked out the summer before as most convenient for landing; and on this occasion the diligence of the soldiers cannot be enough commended, who, labouring incessantly at the oar, urged the transports and ships of burthen so swiftly, that they equalled the course of the galleys. The whole fleet reached the coast of Britain about noon; nor did any enemy appear in view. But as Cæsar afterwards understood from the prisoners, though a great army of Britons had repaired to the coast, yet terrified by the vast number of ships,

[a] M. D'Anville considers that Portus Itius was Witsand Bay, between Capes Grisnez and Blanchnez.

which together with those of the last year's expedition, and such as had been fitted out by particular persons for their own use, amounted to upwards of eight hundred, they retired hastily from the shore, and hid themselves behind the mountains."[a] Roman period.

Though it is said in one place that eighty transports were sufficient to convey two legions,[b] their size could not have been great; for, like galleys, they were propelled by oars; and, having lost many of those vessels in a gale which arose in the night after his arrival, Cæsar thought it safest, though a work of great labour and difficulty, to draw all his ships on shore, and inclose them within the fortification of his camp, which service occupied his army day and night for ten days.[c]

Little, if any, improvement or alteration in the ships of the Britons appears to have taken place while their country remained under the dominion of the Romans; and it would be extraordinary that an approximation should not have been made in their construction to the Roman galleys, were it not that those vessels were, as Cæsar had discovered, ill adapted to the Arctic seas and coasts of Britain; and a conquered people cling to the customs of their ancestors from prejudice, if not from patriotism. But while the Britons learnt little of marine architecture from the Romans, their conquerors are said to have adopted from the islanders both the form and the name of a peculiar kind of fast-sailing boat called "pictæ." These boats, which were very long, like a modern pinnace, were smeared with wax, probably to quicken their passage through the water, and contained about twenty rowers. As their

[a] De Bello Gallico, lib. v. § viii.
[b] Lib. iv. § xxii.
[c] Ibid. v. § xi.

principal use was to gain intelligence, or to dart suddenly upon an enemy, it was desirable that they should remain unseen as long as possible; for which reason their sails and rigging were dyed of a light-blue colour, to resemble the sea, and their crews wore clothing of the same hue.[a]

Saxon period.

No other information exists respecting the Anglo-Saxon Navy than what can be gleaned from incidental allusions to the subject in the Saxon Chronicle and Laws; and, though these notices are neither so explicit nor so copious as could be desired, they are of much interest. Only four kinds of vessels are mentioned by name in Anglo-Saxon records, namely, "ships;" "long ships," "ceols;" "hulks," "æscs;" and "boats;" and as very few pictorial representations of British or Norman vessels before the eleventh century have been discovered, the shape, size, and other particulars of Anglo-Saxon ships can only be inferred from the annexed imperfect representations:[b]

[a] Flavius Vegetius de Re Militari, lib. IV. cap. XXXVII.

[b] This wood-cut is taken from a Saxon version of the Psalms, written in the time of King Edgar, A.D. 957—975, in the Harleian MS. 603, f. 27. Strutt (Manners and Customs, vol. I. plate IX.) has given two representations of what he considers Anglo-Saxon ships, one from a copy of Aratus in the Cottonian MS. Tiberius, B. V., in which the constellation Argo is depicted like a Roman galley, with a house in the centre, and which Strutt supposes to have been a cabin for passengers; but it is evidently imaginary. In his Chronicle of England, I. 337, Strutt has given two Saxon ships, but they are formed from drawings of the ark in the Cotton MS. Claudius B. IV., and which, no doubt, accu-

However much the vessels of the Anglo-Saxons may have differed from each other in length, it may be safely concluded, that, though described as "ships" or "long ships," these vessels were in fact only large, deep, open, undecked boats, and that none of them exceeded fifty tons in burthen. Their prows and sterns were considerably elevated; and one or both were usually ornamented with effigies of men, birds, lions, or other animals, which were sometimes gilded. To a single mast, supported by a few shrouds or rather stays, a large square sail was suspended, which could only have been useful when going large, or before the wind; hence their main dependence, in contrary winds and calms, was upon their oars. The modern rudder[a] being unknown for many centuries after this period, they were steered by paddles fixed to the quarter. While the steersman, who was also the captain or master, and perhaps too the pilot, held the paddle in one hand, he kept the sheet of the sail in the other, thus guiding and providing for the safety of his vessel at the same time. It is doubtful if for any purpose these vessels ever carried more than fifty or sixty men; and, when not employed, they were drawn up on the sea-shore. Saxon period.

These facts are deduced from the manner in which vessels are mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle and

rately represent the prows and sterns of vessels of the tenth century. They differ little from the woodcut in the text, except that the ark is without mast or sail, and contains a sort of house filled with Noah's family, quadrupeds, birds, &c.; but the prow, in one drawing, is surmounted by a man's head fixed to a pole, and a large bird is preying on the skull.

[a] It has been well remarked by the Rev. James Dallaway, that the description given of Æneas, by Virgil, sitting at the helm, and at the same time managing the sail,—

"Ipse sedens clavumque regit, velisque ministrat,"—

also describes our early mariners. Archæologia, XXI. p. 81.

Saxon period.

poetry, and from the representations of shipping in the eleventh century.[a] Even the largest ships are said to have been "rowed," and to have been "shoved off" the shore; and, when built, they were drawn to the sea by pullies. It is also evident that they could pass under London Bridge,[b] first of course striking their mast; an operation which in itself shows that they must have been of small size.

A very interesting account is given by Northern historians of the Danish fleets[c] which so frequently harassed this country. The crews obeyed a single chief, whom they styled their "King," and who also commanded them on land; who was always the bravest of the brave, who never slept beneath a raftered roof, nor ever drained the bowl by a sheltered hearth, —a glowing picture of their wild and predatory habits.[d] To these qualities a celebrated sea-chieftain, called Olaf, added extraordinary eloquence, and great personal strength and agility. He was second to none as a swimmer, could walk upon the oars of his vessel while they were in motion, could throw three darts into the air at the same time, and catch two of them alternately, and could, moreover, hurl a lance with each hand; but he was impetuous, cruel, and revengeful, and "prompt to dare and do."[e]

The Scandinavians are said to have possessed small boats with twelve benches of oars, a pilot, and twelve seamen, and a longer kind of vessel called "snekkar," or serpents, chiefly used for war, with twenty rowers. The war-boats had high gunwales protected

[a] The Bayeux tapestry.

[b] Vide p. 53. See also p. 64, *post*.

[c] Monsieur Thierry, who cites these writers, erroneously says, that the Danish vessels had *two* sails. Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre, ed. 1826, tome I. p. 109.

[d] Snorre's Inglina Saga, t. 40.

[e] Heims Kringla, I. 311.

with iron; and they occasionally erected turrets, from whence they threw stones and arrows. Commanders, or, as they called themselves, Sea-kings, distinguished their ships by a dragon or some other imaginary animal at the prow.[a] Saxon period.

That vessels so unskilfully constructed, capable of sailing only before the wind, without a compass, or any other nautical instrument, and with an imperfect rudder, should have made voyages to the coasts of France and Belgium, and even to Denmark and Norway, speaks loudly in praise of the skill, courage, and perseverance of their crews. Those hardy navigators had, however, in the stars, and in their acquaintance with the coasts, as sure if not as convenient a guide as their successors possess in the compass; and if their progress was not always as rapid, nor their course as direct as modern science can effect, they patiently submitted to impediments, and resolutely overcame difficulties, which were deemed inevitable. "Ceols" are mentioned at an early period of Saxon history; and, though they are supposed to exist in the present "keel," it is impossible to give a more accurate description of them than that they were longer and narrower, and probably of less burthen, and fleeter than other vessels. In a later document they are classed with "hulks;"[b] but there is as much uncertainty about an ancient "hulk," as about an ancient "ceol."

The reign of ALFRED affords some new facts relating to marine architecture; and naval affairs are considered

[a] Depping, Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands, tome I. pp. 71—73, refers to two able papers on the subject, in the Mémoires des Belles Lettres de Stockholm, 1783, and in the Memoirs of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, tome VIII.

[b] Vide p. 22, *post*.

Saxon period.

to have greatly advanced under his auspices;[a] but the inferences of which those facts admit are very slight.

A. D. 897. In the year 897 the south coast was harassed by predatory bands of the East-Anglians and Northumbrians, who arrived in "æscs," which they had built many years before.[b] Antiquaries[c] are not agreed as to the etymology of the name, nor as to the form or size of these vessels; but it is manifest that they could not, as is supposed by some writers, have been small skiffs or boats.

To oppose these æscs, Alfred commanded "long ships" to be built, which are thus described:—"They were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars,[d] and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher, than the others. They were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish; but so as it seemed to him that they would be most efficient:"[e] and they seem in form and equipments to have been a species of galley. By the word "others," English ships, and not "æscs," must have been meant: hence the great Alfred had not only the merit of improving upon the hostile ships, but of constructing from his own genius an entirely new class of vessels. How far he was, as has been suggested, indebted to a model of the Mediterranean galleys,[f] or how closely

[a] Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. x.

[b] Saxon Chronicle, ed. Petrie, printed among the "Materials for a History of Britain," p. 370.

[c] Ducange *in voce*, who says they were small boats or punts used in fish-ponds; while Wendelinus considers that the Dutch schuyt, which he describes as small boats chained to trees (a very different thing from the present schuyt) came from Ascs. Holberg (I. 101) says they were called Ascs because they carried their food with them in chests: but Southey (I. 43), following Ihre, suggests more reasonably that they were called Asks, from the word ash, of which they were built; and adds, that the sea-rovers, termed Ascomanni, perhaps derived their name from these ships.

[d] Henry of Huntingdon, ed. Petrie, 471, says, "forty oars or more."

[e] Saxon Chronicle, p. 371.

[f] Campbell's Lives of British Admirals, ed. 1812, vol. I. p. 49.

he imitated the ships which had been built by the Romans for the service of Gaul and Britain, must, as well as their precise form, be left to conjecture. The passage shows, however, that Alfred's new ships differed from the Frisian and the Danish; and that these again differed from the common English vessels. Saxon period.

Admiration of Alfred's character has caused two remarkable acts to be attributed to him, of which one is more than doubtful, and the other impossible. A native of Heligoland, called Ohthere, having made several voyages to Lapland and Norway, he gave Alfred an account of his proceedings, which was committed to writing. It is said that he had been sent by Alfred purposely to survey those coasts, while some writers, enlarging on this assertion, add that Alfred's object was to discover a north-east passage to India.[a] Ohthere's narrative, however, contains a contradiction of all these flattering conjectures, for it is evident that his voyages were not undertaken by the King's command. To use Ohthere's own words, "He fell into a fantasy and desire to prove and to know how far the land stretched northward, and whether there were any habitation of men beyond the desert." He frankly says, that his principal motive for making the discovery was, to look "for horse-whales (or walrusses), which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellence, whose skins were used to make cables for ships."[b] A northern voyage was afterwards made by Wulfstan, an Englishman;[c] and though Alfred obtained information from him respecting the countries

[a] Spelman's Life of Alfred; Campbell, vol. i. p. 53, &c. Southey (Naval History, i. 45) has satisfactorily exposed this fallacy.

[b] Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, ed. 1809, vol. i. p. 5.

[c] Ibid. pp. 6, 7.

A. D. 873. Saxon period. east of the Baltic, there is no evidence that he proceeded there by the command or under the auspices of that monarch.

The other statement would, if true, have been almost miraculous. Alfred having vowed to send alms to Rome, and to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew in India, the priests Sighelm and Athelstan proceeded A. D. 883. in 883 with his gifts; and the former succeeded, to the astonishment of his countrymen, in reaching Malabar on the coast of Coromandel, which was not again visited by any Englishman for eight centuries. Wonderful as Sighelm's perseverance and toil certainly were, supposing him to have proceeded from Rome up the Mediterranean, and thence either down the Nile and Red Sea, or overland, it seems sometimes to have been taken for granted* that he went by sea round the Cape of Good Hope; forgetting alike the impossibility of any vessel of that age making such a voyage, even if it could have carried sufficient water and provisions for the purpose, and that the Cape itself was then unknown to Europeans.

The naval power of England is supposed to have been twice manifested in a very peculiar manner by King Edgar; first, by the well-known circumstance of his having been rowed on the river Dee by eight tributary Kings; and secondly, by a charter granted to the church of Worcester in 964, in which he is said

* Campbell, vol. i. 54, who speaks throughout of Sighelm's *voyage*. It is impossible that the sagacious Southey could have been misled, but his statement on the subject is obscure. (Naval History, i. 46.) There is nothing in the Saxon Chronicle, Asser, or William of Malmesbury, to justify such a conclusion. On the contrary, Malmesbury (De Gestis Pontificum, p. 248) says, that Sighelm, after crossing the sea with the King's alms, penetrated into India,—"Indiam penetravit."

to have styled himself "Edgar, King of England, and of all the Kings of the Islands, and of the ocean lying round Britain, and of all the nations that are included within the circuit thereof, Supreme Lord and Governor," wherein several expressions occur indicative of his gratitude to God for having enlarged his dominions. This charter is adduced by the learned Selden[a] as evidence of the right of the Kings of England to the Sovereignty of the Seas: but, as has been well observed,[b] of the acquisitions of which it boasts, this charter is the only evidence; and hence its own authority is not only questionable, but one of the most learned Saxon scholars of the present day considers it a forgery.[c] Saxon period.

Edgar's triumphant procession on the river Dee rests on better authority. The Saxon annalist states that in 973, Edgar being then twenty-nine years of age, and having reigned thirteen years, was "hallowed" King at Bath on the 5th of the ides, i. e. the 11th of May; and, "soon after that, he led all his ship-forces to Chester, and there came to meet him six Kings, and they all plighted their troth to him that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land."[d] Nothing is there said of his having been rowed by these princes; but the fact is stated by all later historians. Arriving at Chester, King Edgár received the homage of eight of his dependent Kings: namely, Kenneth, King of the Scots; Malcolm of Cumberland; M'Orrie of Anglesey and the Isles; Dyfnwal, Gwffith A. D. 973.

[a] Mare Clausum, lib. II. c. xii.

[b] Southey, I. p. 55.

[c] Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, II. 404, where it is printed from Spelman's Concilia, I. 432. Mr. Kemble has marked it as a forgery. It also occurs in a charter of Inspeximus, Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. IV. m. 23.

[d] Saxon Chronicle, p. 394.

Saxon period.

and Howel, Kings of Wales; Jago, King of Galloway; and Jukil of Westmorland. On the next day, Edgar went on board his barge, accompanied by these eight feudatory princes. Taking the helm, and placing them at the oars, he was, to the admiration of multitudes, rowed on the river Dee to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, followed by his nobles. Divine service having been performed, he returned to Chester in the same manner, and on entering his palace exclaimed, "My successors may indeed boast of being Kings, since they can command the service of so many princes."[a] Although the Saxon annalist does not expressly mention this circumstance, it may have been thus obscurely alluded to in the metrical account of Edgar's death in 975; "Kings him widely honoured far, bowed to the King as was his due by kind:" while the following lines contain the highest praise that could be bestowed on the sovereign of a maritime people, who had been long harassed by piratical enemies; "No fleet was so daring, nor army so strong, that mid the English nation took from him aught, the while that the noble King ruled on his throne."[b] Edgar's munificence to the Church was repaid by the gratitude and praise of all the monkish historians, who alike exalt his character and exaggerate his power. If these writers are to be credited, his Navy consisted of three thousand six hundred sail,

[a] William of Malmesbury, ed. Hardy, i. 236; Florence of Worcester, ed. Petrie, 578; Bromton, 370; Hoveden, 244[b]; Simeon of Durham, 159, "quandam scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens." The anecdote is particularly noticed in the "Libel of English Policie exhorting all England to keep the Sea," a poem of the early part of the fifteenth century;—

"Such another rowing, I dare well say,
Was not seen of Princes many a day."

[b] Saxon Chronicle, p. 395.

all very "stout ones,"[a] divided into three squadrons, one of which cruized on the north, another on the east, and the third on the west side of Britain; but, according to other writers, Edgar possessed four thousand,[b] and even four thousand eight hundred ships.[c] He is said to have collected these squadrons every year, and, taking the command, to have sailed round his dominions with them in the following manner. Immediately after Easter, he ordered the whole fleet to the west part of the Island, and then, sending it back, proceeded with the western fleet to the northern coast, and thence with the northern division he returned to the eastern coast, to prevent the incursions of pirates, and to train his people to war.[d] Anglo-Saxon navy, 957—953.

The Danish ships with which Swain made a descent upon the coast of Norfolk in 1004 are described with some minuteness. Each vessel had a high deck, and bore a distinctive emblem indicating its commander; which, it may be presumed, was similar in its object to the banners of subsequent chieftains. The prows of the ships were ornamented with figures of lions, bulls, dolphins, or men, made of copper gilt; and at the mast-heads of others were vanes in the shape of birds with expanded wings, shewing the quarter whence the wind blew. Their sides were painted with various colours; and the shields of the soldiers, of polished steel, were placed in rows round the gunwales. Swain's own ship, which was called "the Great Dragon," is said to have been built in the form of the animal whose name it bore; its head forming the prow, and its tail the stern.[e] Though the myste- A. D. 1004. Danish ships.

[a] Hoveden, p. 244.
[b] Bromton, col. 870.
[c] Matthew of Westminster, p. 192.
[d] Ibid. i. 253.
[e] Heims Kringla. vol. II. p. 125.

rious Scandinavian standard of white silk, having in its centre a raven with extended wings and open beak, the supposed ensurer of victory, which had been embroidered by three of Swain's sisters in one night, amidst charms and magical incantations, was on board his ship, it was not displayed until he landed in England.[a]

King Canute.

The anecdote by which the name of Canute is best known to posterity, though unnoticed by the Saxon annalist, stands on the authority of an early historian. "Besides many splendid warlike deeds," says Henry of Huntingdon, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, "Canute did three elegant and celebrated things, of which the following was the most memorable. Being at Southampton in all regal pomp, he placed himself in a seat on the sea-shore, and, addressing the flowing tide with an air of authority, said, 'Thou, O sea! art subject to me, as is the land on which I sit; nor is there any one therein who dare resist my commands: now I enjoin thee neither to approach my land, nor presume to wet the feet or garments of thy sovereign.' But the tide, rising as usual, soon wetted his feet and legs, and the King retreating exclaimed, 'Let every inhabitant of the world know that the power of Kings is a vain and trifling thing, nor is there any one worthy of the name of King but He, at whose nod the heavens, the earth, and sea, and all that in them are, obey his eternal laws.' From this time Canute never wore the crown, but, placing it upon the head of an image of the Crucifixion, set a great example of humility to future Kings."[b]

[a] Reginæ Emmæ Encomium, in Scrip. Rer. Norman. pp. 166, 170.

[b] Henry of Huntingdon, ed. Petrie, p. 757; Matthew of Westminster, p. 209.

The world has always seen, in this beautiful anecdote, a striking lesson to courtly sycophants; but it was reserved for two profound lawyers to discover in it an important political fact, they having gravely insisted that the King thereby most expressly asserted the sea to be a part of his dominions.[a] Canute evinced his gratitude to Heaven for his safe return from Rome in 1029 or 1031 in a remarkable manner. He gave A. D. 1031. to the Christchurch of Canterbury, the port of Sandwich, with all the dues arising out of it on either side of the haven, "so that when the tide is highest and fullest, and there be a ship floating as near the land as possible, and there be a man standing upon the ship with a taper-axe in his hand, whithersoever the large taper-axe might be thrown out of the ship, throughout all that land the ministers of Christ's Church should enjoy their rights."[b]

Elected by the Navy.

It is consistent with the history of a maritime people that one of their early Sovereigns, though an usurper, should have owed his crown to the Navy, and that the influence of merchants should in a more settled state of affairs appear in the National Council. Canute was chosen King by his fleet;[c] and in the Witan or Great Council at Oxford, which elected his son Harold to the throne in 1036, it is expressly stated that almost all the thanes north of the Thames, and the "lithsmen" or naval men[d] at London,[e] were present, and who, it has been supposed, were such merchants as had at-

[a] Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. xii.; Prynne's Animadversions on Coke's Fourth Institute, p. 87.

[b] Saxon Chronicle, ed. Ingram, p. 206. In Mr. Petrie's edition. p. 429, the passage is imperfect, and the grant is assigned to the year 1029.

[c] Saxon Chronicle, p. 420.

[d] Ingram, p. 207.

[e] Saxon Chronicle, p. 430.

tained the degree of thane under a law which will be afterwards noticed.

Saxon laws relating to the Navy.

Much valuable information respecting every department of a State may be derived from its laws; and if the Anglo-Saxon code had been preserved, there would probably be little necessity to seek elsewhere for those details relating to the Navy, which can now be only imperfectly obtained from the few ordinances that are preserved. Though the facts are few in number, they are important in many points of view; and especially, for being of unquestionable authenticity.

The earliest ordinance on the subject now extant was made by the Witan or Great Council of King ETHELRED,[a] at Eynesham in Oxfordshire, which clearly proves that the Saxons had two kinds of ships; namely, for war, and for commerce. It was then declared to be expedient that "every year, immediately after Easter, ships of war be made ready:" and it was provided that, "if any one of the people injured a ship of war, let him strictly make 'bot,' or compensation for it, and to the King the 'mund;' and if any one so injure it that it be useless, let him pay for it fully, and to the King the 'mund-bryce.'"[b]

The Laws of Ethelred also speak of "naval armaments" and "merchant-ships;" and it was declared that such measures should be taken that a naval armament be stationed immediately after Easter in every year;[c] showing that, in consequence of the small

[a] Ethelred reigned from 978 to 1016.

[b] "The Laws of King Ethelred," VI. 33, 34, edited by Mr. Thorpe in the "Ancient Laws and Institutions of England," folio, 1840, p. 138. The "mund," and "mund-bryce," are explained to mean "protection or guardianship." In the sense in the text, they seem to import a fine for injuring the King's property, in addition to the cost of restoring it.

[c] Ancient Laws, II. 2. and V. 27, pp. 121, 132.

size of the enemy's ships, the winter formed a sufficient security from invasion. If any naval armament committed ravages in England, the districts under the government of Archbishop Sigeric, and of two eoldermen, were bound to assist the King, he finding provisions for them while with him; and such as aided the invaders were to be considered outlaws to the King, and to the whole army.[a] If a merchant-ship, even if it belonged to an enemy, entered any port in England, she was to have "frith," that is peace, and freedom from molestation, provided that such ship were not "driven," or chased, into the port; but even if it were chased, and it reached any frith-burgh, and the crew escaped into the burgh, then the crew, and whatever they brought with them, were to have "frith."[b] To judge from the law made against robberies, it would seem that English vessels sometimes pillaged their own coasts: "If a man was robbed of his property by a ship, the steersman," that is the master or captain, "was bound to restore it; but if it were lawfully taken, the steersman was to go with four other men, and deny the charge, and declare that it was lawfully taken."[c]

Saxon laws relating to the Navy.

The only other Saxon law now known respecting shipping or naval affairs, occurs in the definition of the "People's Ranks and Laws,"[d] and which is very remarkable, from showing the importance that was attached to maritime commerce. After stating the manner in which, from property or services, a ceorl might attain the rank of thane, and a thane that of

[a] Ancient Laws, II. 2. p. 121.
[b] Ibid. II. 3. p. 121.
[c] It is not quite certain when those laws were enacted, but probably by King Alfred and Guthrum between 871 and 891. See, however, Mr. Thorpe's note, p. 71.
[d] Ancient Laws.

Saxon laws relating to the Navy.

eorl, it is said, "And if a merchant thrive so that he fared twice over the wide sea by his own vessel,[a] then was he henceforth of thane-right worthy."[b] Some uncertainty, however, exists as to the exact meaning of this law. It seems to have been necessary, to entitle a merchant to the rank of thane, that he should actually have made three voyages in his own vessel; but it becomes doubtful, on referring to the other ordinances on the subject of rank, and from the word "thrive," whether that fact itself was sufficient, or whether the three voyages were not the test of a merchant's acquisition of property. It is also uncertain what was meant by the "wide sea;" but the expression may have been used to distinguish voyages across the channel, from the river or coasting trade.

Tolls.

An idea can be formed of the vessels, as well as of the geographical extent of our maritime commerce at the period, from the tolls which were levied at Billingsgate in the early part of the eleventh century, and which had then probably long been demanded. "If a small vessel came to Billingsgate, the toll was one halfpenny: if a larger vessel, and it had sails,[c] one penny: if a ceol, or hulk, came, and lay there, fourpence. From a vessel laden with planks, one plank was demanded. The weekly toll of cloth was taken on three days, Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday. Whosoever came to the bridge with a boat with fish in it, the dealer gave one halfpenny toll; and for a larger vessel, one penny. The men of Rouen, who came with

[a] "Cræfth," which Mr. Thorpe renders "means;" but adds in a note that the word possibly signified a vessel.

[b] Ancient Laws, p. 81.

[c] "Siglas," and in another copy "gulas." These words might be supposed to show that vessels had sometimes more than one sail, but it is doubtful if they were used in their strict literal sense.

wine or a grampus, gave the right toll of six shillings for a large ship, and the twentieth part of the said grampus. The Flemings, and men of Poitou, and Normandy, and France, showed their goods, and were free of toll: the men of La Hogue, Liege, and Nivelle, who came by land, showed, and paid toll; and the men of the Emperor, who came in their ships, were deemed law-worthy, like ourselves. Besides, it was lawful for them to buy for their ships uncarded wool and unpacked grease, and three live hogs; but it was not lawful for them to forestall to the burghers, and to give their toll. And at Christmas two grey cloths, and one brown, and ten pounds of pepper, and gloves[a] for five men; and two horse tuns of vinegar, and as many at Easter. Of panniers with hens, one hen as toll: of panniers with eggs, five eggs as toll, if they come to market. Greasemongers, who trade in cheese and butter, fourteen days before Christmas gave one penny, and seven days after they gave another, for toll."[b] Saxon laws relating to the Navy.

It is remarkable that the Flemings, and inhabitants of Poitou, Normandy, and France, should have been free of toll while it was exacted from the people of Rouen, La Hogue, Liege, and Nivelle, who it is said came by land; meaning probably that they did not come to London in their ships, but had landed at Dover, or some other sea-port on the coast. Nor does it appear why the subjects of the Emperor of Germany should have been placed in some respects on the same footing as the English, and have had the peculiar right of buying uncarded wool. If these regulations

[a] "Cirotecas."

[b] Ancient Laws and Institutions of England, p. 127. Bromton, col. 897. Prynne's Animadversions, p. 105.]

included all the Foreign places which traded with London, there was no commerce with Denmark, Sweden, Norway, or other northern countries; but this is highly improbable.

Anglo-Saxon Navy, 11th century.

There is considerable difficulty in forming a correct opinion as to the manner in which the Anglo-Saxon Navy was raised and paid. The ships of war were, no doubt, considered to belong to the King; and they seem to have been furnished and manned by cities and towns according to an established rate, additions being made as necessities arose, from a special tax levied for that purpose, or from the King's revenues. The General Survey of England, taken soon after the Conquest, throws some light on the subject; but, though the precise time when those burthens were imposed is not known, it was certainly long before that epoch. Dover and Sandwich,[a] and probably others of the ports afterwards called the Cinque Ports, were severally obliged to furnish the King with twenty ships for fifteen days, once in every year, each vessel having a crew of twenty-one persons, because he had granted them sac and soc. When the King's messenger arrived, the inhabitants of Dover paid threepence in winter, and twopence in summer, for transporting his horse; and they were further bound to find a pilot and his assistant. It is expressly said that these customs were found there when King William came. If the King sent ships to keep the sea, twenty shillings were collected from every burgess of Lewes for the wages of the crews. When the King went on an expedition, twenty of the burgesses of Oxford were to attend him, unless they paid a fine of twenty pounds

[a] Domesday, I. 3.

for exemption. If the King went over the sea against an enemy, the city of Leicester sent four horses as far as London to carry arms or whatever else might be required. On a similar occasion, Warwick found four "batsueins," seamen; or paid four pounds in money. Exeter, Barnstaple, and Totness were assessed after the rate of five hides of land. Gloucester furnished thirty-six decres of iron, and one hundred iron rods, to make nails for the King's ships; and every house in Colchester was assessed at sixpence, and some other towns were taxed in like manner.[a] A peculiar custom at Chester is deserving of notice. If, contrary to the King's peace and against his prohibition, a ship arrived, the ship, crew, and cargo were forfeited to the King and the earl. If the vessel had the King's license, the crew might trade, upon payment at its departure of fourpence for every last of the cargo; and if it were laden with marten-skins, none were to be sold until they had been examined by the King's bailiff.[b] Lands were held in the hundred of Maldon, in Essex, by the tenure of assisting, with other burgesses, in finding horses for the King's expeditions, and to build ships.[c]

Anglo-Saxon Navy, 11th century.

In 1008 King Ethelred commanded that ships should be immediately built throughout his dominions, at the rate of one vessel from three hundred and ten hides; and the owner of every eight hides was to find a helmet and a coat of mail. A larger fleet[d] was accordingly ready in the following year than had ever before been seen in England.[e] Ethelred is generally

A. D. 1008.

[a] Domesday Book, *passim*.
[b] Ibid. I. 262[b]. [c] Ibid. II. 48.
[d] Camden calculated that this tax ought to have produced 785 ships and 80,000 men.
[e] Saxon Chronicle, p. 413.

Danegeld. said to have established a permanent tax, called "Danegeld," the precise date and object of which have been much discussed.[a] By some writers it is considered to have been levied for the payment of the tributes demanded by the Danes as the price of their truces with the English; but others assert, with more reason, that the object of the danegeld was to maintain a navy for the prevention of their piratical incursions. It is also uncertain whether the demand of a ship and armour from landed proprietors in 1008, or the hire of the forty-five ships which Ethelred borrowed from the Danes in 1012,[b] was the cause of this impost. Nothing more occurs about a naval tax until the reign
A.D. 1040. of King Harold, who is said to have retained sixteen ships in pay, at the rate of eight marks for each rower, as had been before done by King Canute.[c] Harold's successor, King Hardicanute, levied eight marks for each rower of seventy-two ships. This assessment rendered him exceedingly unpopular, even with his own adherents,[c] and two of the officers sent to collect the impost in Worcestershire were slain. In the follow-
Heregeld. ing year the "heregeld," amounting to £21,099, was paid; besides which sum, £11,048 were levied for thirty-two ships.[d] The obnoxious tax is thus stated to have been abolished by Edward the Confessor, in 1052: "And in the same year King Edward abolished the heregeld, which King Ethelred had before imposed: that was in the nine and thirtieth year after he had begun it. That geld distressed all

[a] See Selden's Mare Clausum; Spelman's and Mr. Webb's treatise on Danegeld, 4to. 1756. Both Selden and Webb have collected all the early authorities on the subject.

[b] Vide p. 45, *post*.

[c] Saxon Chronicle, p. 432.

[d] Ibid. p. 433.

the English nation during so long a time as it here above is written; that was ever before other gelds which were variously paid, and wherewith the people were manifoldly distressed." [a]

Danegeld.

Notwithstanding all the learning that has been brought to the question, a doubt may be reasonably entertained whether the tax imposed by Ethelred was, as it has always been considered, in fact the "Danegeld." The word itself occurs, it is believed, for the first time in the laws attributed to Edward the Confessor, [b] wherein it is said to have been imposed for the repression of pirates, who had devastated the country, and to have amounted to twelve-pence annually on every hide of land, except the property of the Church. [c]

If, as has been supposed, the danegeld was imposed long before the time of Edward the Confessor, and was abolished by him in 1052, it is extraordinary that it should have been included among his laws Danegeld undoubtedly existed at the time of the General Survey, though it is only once expressly mentioned; [d] and

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 445.

[b] Mr. Webb doubts the genuineness of the passage in the Confessor's laws respecting Danegeld, because it is not mentioned in the Confessor's laws as confirmed by William the Conqueror, in Ingulphus: he says it was interpolated in the time of Henry II.; and he also denies that it was ever abolished by Edward. But Mr. Webb was not aware that the work inscribed to Ingulphus is a forgery; and he does not appear to have seen the statement in the Saxon Chronicle given in the text. Mr. Webb cites a writ of William the Conqueror, (Heming. Chart. I. 78,) directing that certain boundaries and jurisdictions in Worcestershire should remain "as they were on the day on which King Edward for the last time levied 'geld' for building a ship." This, however, tends to prove that a tax for naval purposes was abolished by the Confessor, though it is not called *danegeld*. The word occurs in Peter of Langtoft, who says the danegeld was abolished by Edward the Confessor, though he afterwards attributes its discontinuance to King Stephen.

[c] Ancient Laws and Institutions, p. 192. No contemporary copy of those laws exists.

[d] Standford gave, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, geld for

Danegeld. there is nothing in Domesday Book to show that it had ever ceased, or been revived. Moreover, the tax abolished by the Confessor is nowhere called the danegeld by early writers; and the Saxon annalist himself gives it the name of heregeld. It is expressly defined in the laws of Henry the First,[a] and is then said to have been part of the King's rights,[b] but from which the citizens of London were exempt.[c]

Under these circumstances it seems not unlikely that the impost of which Ethelred was the author in 1008 or 1012, was a general tax for military or naval purposes, called the heregeld; that it was of uncertain amount, and collected only when required; that, as in the instance of Hardicanute, it was occasionally very oppressive to the people; that the Confessor, therefore, discontinued it; and that, as the country could not be left without the means of defence against the Danes, the Confessor instituted, instead of the obnoxious heregeld, a fixed and moderate tax on land, which, from its object, obtained the name of danegeld.

A very remarkable passage occurs in the Saxon A.D. 1049. Chronicle respecting the Navy in the year 1049, which tends to show that it then consisted partly of ships belonging to the King, and partly of ships belonging to the nation. Edward the Confessor being with a great fleet at Sandwich, word was brought to him that some vessels of the enemy were committing ravages to the westward. "Then went Godwin the eorl west about, with two of the *King's ships;* the one com-

twelve hundreds and a half, "in exercitu et navigio et in *danegeld*, ibi fuerunt et sunt vj. custodie." Domesday, vol. i. p. 336.

[a] Ancient Laws and Institutions p. 228

[b] Ibid. p. 224.

[c] Ibid. p. 217.

manded Harold the eorl, and the other Tostig his brother; and forty-two of the *people's ships*. Then Harold the eorl was removed from the King's ship, which Harold the eorl before had commanded."[a] By "people's ships," as distinguished from the "King's ships," vessels raised by the here-geld may have been intended; in which case the "King's ships" must have been his own property; or, and more probably, the "people's ships" may have been an auxiliary force consisting of vessels belonging to private individuals. King's ships and people's ships.

As so little is known of more important matters, it was not to be expected that much information could be discovered respecting the crews or armament of the Anglo-Saxon Navy. Though each vessel was under the direction of one nautical person, who appears usually to have united the qualities of captain, steersman, and pilot, there is no trace of an admiral or commander of the whole fleet; but that office seems to have devolved upon the King, or next greatest person who happened to command the soldiers embarked;[b] and in 1052 it is said, that the ships were ordered back to London, and that other eorls and commanders should be appointed to them.[b] The most essential qualification of the crews was skill in rowing: their period of service was limited, and the seamen appear to have had the right of leaving their ships when it had terminated. As the rowers received eight marks each, the pay of the captain or master was probably ten or twelve marks. It is not expressly stated for what period they were paid, he probably for a whole year, though their services were only

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 439.

[b] "Othre corlas and othre hasætan;" Saxon Chronicle, p. 448.

required from about Easter to Michaelmas. In 1049 King Edward "discharged nine ships from pay, and they went away, ships and all; and five ships remained behind, and the King promised them twelve months' pay."[a] The Confessor's ship seems to have had both a captain and a steersman, and their names and some facts relating to them are preserved. The captain was called Edric, and possessed lands in Brigstone in Norfolk; but after the Conquest he was outlawed, probably for having adhered to Harold, and then went to Denmark.[b] The King's steersman was Ulfech, and he is said to have held some land in the hundred of Berford in Bedfordshire.[c]

Provisions, and clothing for seamen, appear to have been provided by the King. It was part of Ethelred's agreement with the crews of the Danish auxiliary ships in 1012, that he should feed and clothe them;[d] and speaking of Harold's fleet at Sandwich in 1066, the Saxon annalist says, "When it was the nativity of St. Mary (8th September), then were the men's provisions gone, and no man could any longer keep them there; then were the men allowed to go home, and the King rode up, and all the ships were dispatched to London."[e]

No particular weapons or other arms was appropriated to ships; but a bulwark was formed round the gunwale, or upper part of their sides, by placing the shields of the soldiers and crews horizontally, one

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 441, 442.

[b] Domesday Book, II. 200, wherein he is described as "Edricus Rector navis Regis." Another, if not the same Edric, had been steersman of the Bishop of Worcester's ship; ibid. I. 173[b]. See also Sir Henry Ellis' Introduction to Domesday, vol. II. p. 89.

[c] Ibid. p. 217[b].

[d] Ibid. p. 418.

[e] Ibid. p. 463.

shield lying partly over the other.[a] Neither a banner, gonfanon, or pennon, nor any war-cry, is mentioned as having been used at sea; but a standard embroidered with a raven was borne by the Danes; and as banners, particularly the celebrated Landeyda,[b] are mentioned in Anglo-Saxon history and poetry, it may be presumed that ensigns floated from their ships, though their form, colour, and charges are unknown. The armorial bearings attributed to the Saxon Kings are altogether apocryphal, except perhaps in the instance of Edward the Confessor, whose supposed ensigns, a cross between five martlets, occur, though not in a shield, on the reverse of his coins.

[a] See the engraving in a subsequent page.

[b] "Desolation of the Country."

CHAPTER II.

SEA-FIGHTS OF ANGLO-SAXON SHIPS FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CONQUEST.

WITHOUT some knowledge of the diminutive size and insignificant appearance of the Anglo-Saxon vessels, compared with those of modern times, the petty conflicts of which its history consists could scarcely fail to mislead; for the same words are used to describe the proceedings and skirmishes of fleets of mere boats, as are applied to the magnificent ships and to the great Naval battles of the last and present century.

Until after the Norman Conquest, the little that is known of Naval affairs is contained in the Saxon Chronicle; and it rarely happens that any addition can be made to its brief and simple narrative.

The invasion of Julius Cæsar with at first eighty, and the second time with six hundred ships; the arrival of the Angles in the year 448, under Hengest
A. D. 448. and Horsa, with "three long ships,"[a] which in another place appear to have been called "ceols;" of Ella and
A. D. 477. his three sons in 477 with three ships;[b] of the two
A. D. 495. eoldormen, Cerdic, and Cynric his son, in 495 with five ships;[c] of Port and his two sons at Portsmouth with two ships in 501, where they slew a young Briton

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 298. [b] Ibid. p. 300.
[c] Ibid.

of high nobility;[a] of the West-Saxons in 514, with three ships;[b] of Northmen out of Hæretha-land with three ships in 787, the crews of which killed the King's reeve, and which are said to have been the first Danish ships that ever came to England,[c]—are the only notices of a maritime nature until the ninth century; except that in 794 the Northmen, who are called "the Heathens,"[d] after ravaging several parts of Northumberland, and plundering a monastery at the mouth of the Don, lost some of their vessels by shipwreck.[e] A. D. 794.

In 833, a Danish and Norwegian fleet arrived on the southern coast of England, and King Egbert was defeated in a sanguinary battle with the crews of thirty-five Danish ships at Charmouth.[f] About two years afterwards, the Danes having combined with the Welsh and formed a large fleet, they again made war upon Egbert, but their army was completely beaten at Hengston in Cornwall.[g] The next engagement with the Danes was at Southampton in 837, when the eoldorman Wulfheard defeated the crews of thirty-five ships:[h] but, in the same year, the Danes were successful at Port in Dorsetshire; and in 840, the crews of the same number, possibly of the same ships, retained possession of the field after an action with King Ethelwulf at Charmouth.[i] Few, if any, of these contests appear to have taken place at sea; and the first regular naval engagement with the Danes occurred in 851. A. D. 833. A. D. 835. A. D. 840.

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 300, 301.

[b] Ibid. p. 301.

[c] Ibid. pp 336, 337. Mr. Ingram renders "Hæretha-lande" the "land of robbers."

[d] "The Pagans came (says Simeon of Durham, p. 112) with a naval force like stinging hornets."

[e] Saxon Chronicle, p. 338.

[f] Ibid. p. 344.

[g] Ibid

[h] Ibid. p. 345.

[i] Ibid. p. 346.

A. D. 851. In the nervous language of the Saxon annalist, "And the same year King Athelstan,[a] and Ealchere the eoldorman, fought on shipboard, and slew a great number of the enemy at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine ships and put the others to flight; and the Heathen men, for the first time, remained over-winter in Thanet."[b]

The Danes, however, obtained a greater triumph in the same year; for, having arrived with three hundred and fifty ships at the mouth of the Thames, their crews landed, and took both Canterbury and London by storm. They then put the King of the Mercians and his army to flight, and proceeded over the Thames into Surrey; but meeting King Ethelwulf, and his son Ethelbald, with the army of West-Saxons, they were defeated with immense slaughter at Ockley.[c]

A. D. 871. The accession of the renowned ALFRED, early in 871, forms as memorable an epoch in the Naval and Military, as in the Civil History of Britain. Having both previous to and after his accession repeatedly defeated the Danes on land, he proceeded to sea in the summer of the year 875 in command of his fleet; and, in an engagement with seven ships,[d] captured one and put the others to flight.[e] Alfred's next naval exploit was

[a] As Alfred the Great is supposed to have been the first Sovereign of England who commanded his fleet in person in a naval engagement, it must be observed that Athelstan, mentioned in the text, was a son of King Egbert, and succeeded his father in 836: "Athelstan, his other son, succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons." (Saxon Chronicle, p. 345.) Southey (I. 27) calls him the "Royalet of Kent," and says, "his name never occurs afterwards." According to some authorities, Athelstan was illegitimate and left a son called Ostride.

[b] Saxon Chronicle, p. 345.

[c] Ibid. p. 346.

[d] It does not clearly appear what these ships were. The original words are "scip-hlærtha," which Mr. Ingram translates "ship-rovers." The same term is applied to the Danish ships that were taken in 882.

[e] Saxon Chronicle, p. 355.

in 882, when he captured four Danish ships after an obstinate resistance; their crews having been "sorely distressed and wounded before they surrendered."[a] A. D. 882.

In 885, two sea-fights occurred: in the first, sixteen Danish pirates[b] were taken at the mouth of the Stour, and their crews slain; but, as the Saxons were returning with their booty, they met a large fleet of pirates, which defeated them.[c] In the same year, another large fleet attacked the Old-Saxons; but, the Frisians having joined them, the Saxons obtained, it would seem, two victories.[d] A. D. 885.

An invasion in 893 by the Danish army which had quitted England in 880, and settled first at Ghent and afterwards in France, called forth all the energy of Alfred's character. Led by Hasting, the most able and enterprising chief which his country had produced, this army committed great ravages on the continent; and desirous of becoming, if not entire master of England, at least King of the Anglo-Danes, he collected his forces at Boulogne. Having constructed a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, Hasting embarked the whole of his soldiers and horses, and, making only one passage, arrived at the mouth of the Lymene[e] in East-Kent. The Danes then towed A. D. 893.

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 358.

[b] Selden has shown that "pirates" did not mean sea-robbers in the modern sense, but that the term was used for distinguished seamen. Mare Clausum, lib. II. c. X.

[c] Ibid. p. 359.

[d] Ibid. p. 360. The circumstance mentioned by the chronicler, that in 891 three Scotsmen came to Alfred from Ireland, is deserving of notice, on account of the description of the boat which conveyed them across the Channel. Wishing, from religious motives, "to be in a state of pilgrimage, they recked not where," these fanatics embarked in a boat made of two hides and a half, without any oars, and with provisions for seven days. In this condition they drifted towards England, and landed on the seventh day in Cornwall, whence they were taken to Alfred.

[e] It has been usually supposed that the river, called in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle "Lemene-mouth,"

part of their ships four miles up the river as far as the Weald; and, having stormed a newly erected fortress, took up their position at Appledore. Hasting himself, however, proceeded with eighty ships to the Thames, landed at Milton[a] and formed a camp, the remains of which are supposed to be still visible. The enemy thus obtained possession of a large district of Kent, while their fleet protected great part of the coast. The motives which induced them to abandon their position do not belong to this narrative; and it will therefore only be observed, that in the following year Hasting crossed the Thames, and erected a fortification at South Benfleet in Essex. About the same time, a fleet of forty sail, which had come north-about into the Bristol Channel, landed on the north coast of Devonshire; while another of one hundred ships, passing down Channel, laid siege to Exeter. Alfred, undismayed by so many enemies, divided his army; and sending part, which was reinforced by the Londoners, against Hasting, conducted the other in person into the west.

A. D. 894.

The attack on Benfleet was attended with complete success; and Hasting's fleet being taken, part were burnt or destroyed, and the rest brought, some to London, and some to Rochester. The Danish chieftain, however, rallied his scattered forces at South Shoebury, where he was joined by ships from East-Anglia and Northumbria. He then proceeded up the Thames, and after landing his forces sent back

was the Rother; but Selden supposes that Rye cannot be meant, and says, in the oldest authority no river, but a port only, is spoken of, and that the ships were left in the haven. See Southey, I. 35, who has investigated the question, and agrees with Selden.

[a] Ibid. pp. 363, 364.

his ships to the coast of Essex, where they took on board the remnant of his army, which had been defeated at Buttington on the banks of the Severn. On the appearance of Alfred before Exeter, the enemy re-embarked, and attacked Chichester, but were gallantly driven back to their ships, a few of which were captured. After various other unsuccessful efforts,[a] in the summer of 897 Hasting disbanded his army, some A. D. 897. going to East-Anglia, and others to Northumberland, where such of his soldiers as were moneyless procured ships and went to the Seine.[b]

Whatever hopes of repose the departure of Hasting might have inspired in the West-Saxons, they were of short duration. In the same year their south coast was harassed by bands of East-Anglians and Northumbrians, who appeared in ships called "æscs," which they had built many years before;[c] and the measures adopted by Alfred on the occasion have been already stated.[d]

Six Danish vessels having appeared off the Isle of Wight, where, as well as on the coast of Devonshire, they had committed great ravages, Alfred manned nine of his new ships, partly with Frisians, the best sailors of the time, and partly with English, and sent them in pursuit of the enemy. The Danes were discovered at the entrance of some port, the name of which is not known; but three only of their vessels could put to sea, the others being aground at the upper part of the harbour. Actuated by courage, or by the fear of being blockaded, the three ships which were afloat instantly came out; and, after a gallant

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 364—367.
[b] Ibid. p. 369.
[c] Ibid. p. 370.
[d] P. 12, *ante*.

A. D. 897. defence, two of them were captured. In pursuance of Alfred's resolution to treat the Danes as pirates, their crews were put to death. At this moment, from the falling of the tide, and perhaps also from negligence, the English ships took the ground, three on one side of the harbour, and three on the side on which the three Danish vessels were ashore, so that no communication could take place between one half of Alfred's ships and the other half. As soon as the tide had ebbed some furlongs, the crews of the Danish ships attacked those of the three English vessels on their side of the harbour, who could obtain no assistance from their comrades on the other side. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the King's reeve, and some other persons of distinction, both Frisians and English, were slain, together with seventy-two men on their part, and one hundred and twenty on the part of the Danes. From being nearer to the sea, the flood-tide floated the Danish sooner than the English ships, so that they rowed off and made their escape: but they had sustained so much damage, that only one of them was able to get beyond the coast of Sussex; and, two others being driven ashore, the crews were taken to Alfred at Winchester, and there hanged by his orders. In the same year no less than twenty ships were wrecked on the southern coast of England, and their crews perished.[a]

A. D. 901. Alfred closed a glorious reign of more than twenty-eight years on the 28th of October 901. As he increased, and probably improved the Navy, encouraged maritime commerce, and was, it is supposed, the first English sovereign who commanded his own

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 370, 371.

fleet in battle, he has been called the first English admiral.

A successful descent of Ethelwald, with all "the ships he was able to get," and to whom the people of Essex submitted, in 904;[a] the arrival, in 918, of a large fleet from Brittany,[b] which pillaged part of North Wales, and made the Bishop of Landaff prisoner, but who was afterwards ransomed by the King for forty pounds,[c]—are the only naval events recorded in the reign of Edward the Elder, who died in 925. He was succeeded by Athelstan, who, after subduing the Anglo-Danes, became the first monarch of all England. In 933 Athelstan invaded Scotland with his fleet, as well as with his army; and his exploits at the great battle of Brumby, in 937, are described in a contemporary Saxon poem. Anlaf, the Northmen's chieftain, is said to have escaped in his vessel;[d] and his followers "departed in their nailed barks, bloody relic of darts on dinges ocean o'er the deep water, Dublin to seek, again Ireland, shamed in mind."[e]

A. D. 904.

A. D. 910 or 915.

A. D. 933.

A. D. 937.

A rich and appropriate present was made to Athelstan by Harold King of Norway, about the year 931, of a ship adorned with a golden prow, having a purple sail, and armed with a complete bulwark of golden shields.[f] Athelstan is memorable for being, it is said, the first English sovereign who confederated with a foreign monarch against a common enemy. In

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 372.

[b] "Lidwiccas;" the Bretons are said to have been so called, because they abode day and night in their ships. Some authorities place this event in 915.

[c] Ibid. p. 377.

[d] According to Simeon of Durham, p. 25, Anlaf had 615 ships.

[e] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 383—385. Mr. Ingram renders this curious passage rather differently. "The Northmen sailed in their nailed ships, a dreary remnant, on the roaring sea; over deep water Dublin they sought, and Ireland's shores, in great disgrace."

[f] William of Malmesbury, i. 215,

939 he entered into a treaty with his nephew Louis à Outremer of France, by which he engaged to assist him with a fleet against his rebellious nobles, and Otho King of Germany. The English fleet accordingly appeared off the coast of Flanders as soon as Otho had passed the Rhine; and not only protected the towns on the coast of their ally, but invaded the enemy's territories.[a] From that time nearly sixty years elapsed before any Naval events of greater importance took place than the occasional descent of
A. D. 992. adventurers on the western coast. In 992, in consequence of the Anglo-Danes having raised an army, King Ethelred "the Unready," and his council, ordered such of his ships as were of any size to assemble at London, intending to surprise the enemy; but warning was given them by the eoldorman Ælfric, who traitorously deserted his sovereign, and joined their camp. Thus apprised of their danger, the Danish fleet escaped, with the exception of one ship. Some of their other ships were however encountered, and the one in which the traitor Ælfric had embarked was taken.[b] Ælfric himself escaped; and the King is said to have taken a cowardly vengeance on his unfortunate son by putting out his eyes.[c]

An attack was made upon London by ninety-four
A. D. 994. ships under Anlaf and Swain in September 994, but they were beaten off by the inhabitants with great loss; and, to the honour of the Londoners, the Saxon annalist[d] says, the enemy "there sustained more harm and evil than they ever weened that any townsmen

[a] Chronicle of Flodoard, A. D. 939, quoted by Père Daniel, II. 647.
[b] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 401, 402.
[c] William of Malmesbury, I. 264.
[d] Saxon Chronicle, p. 402.

would be able to do unto them." Repulsed at London, the Danes devastated Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; plundering, burning, and murdering wherever they went, both on the coast and inland. Their proceedings created so much terror that the King offered them terms, and submitted to the disgraceful conditions of finding provisions for their forces in winter-quarters at Southampton, and paying sixteen thousand pounds to Anlaf as the price of his departure, he having promised never again to invade England.[a] The respite thus purchased proved as short as it was dishonourable. Within three years, the western parts of England were again desolated; and the Danish A. D. 997. fleet, having entered the Tamar, proceeded as far as Lidford, and thence to Tavistock, where they burnt the church, and carried an immense booty to their ships.[b] They continued their aggressions in 998; and, A. D. 998. though forces were levied to oppose them, the English army always took to flight when they should have fought, so that "in the end" the enemy "ever had the victory."[c] In the ensuing year, their ships sailed up A. D. 999. the Medway to Rochester, where they disembarked their crews; and, having defeated the Kentish forces, plundered the greater part of West-Kent. The feeble-minded King then resolved to attack them both by sea and land; but, when the ships were ready, "the doomsmen[d] delayed from day to day, and distressed the poor people who lay in the ships," so that nothing was done; "except, the people's distress, and waste of money, and the emboldening of their foes."[e]

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 402, 403.

[b] Ibid. p. 406.

[c] Ibid.

[d] "Deman." Mr. Ingram does not notice the doomsman in his translation of this passage.

[e] Saxon Chronicle, p. 407.

A. D. 1000. Better fortune, however, attended Etheldred in the next year, for the Danish fleet retired to Normandy, and he made a successful expedition into Cumberland; but his ships, instead of joining him, ravaged the island of Anglesea.[a] With the ensuing spring, the
A. D. 1001. Danes reappeared at Exmouth, and being joined by a chief called Pallig (a foreigner who had received great favours from Ethelred, and sworn fealty to him) with several ships, committed great devastation in the counties of Devon and Somerset. More creditable measures having failed, a truce was again purchased
A. D. 1002. with the Danish fleet in 1002; and, besides receiving provisions, they were paid twenty-four thousand pounds.[b]

Very soon after the truce was concluded, Ethelred commanded that every Dane in his dominions should be put to death; and the massacre accordingly took place on the 13th of November. This horrible slaughter is said to have been caused by the discovery of a conspiracy among the Danes to kill the King and his Witan or Council, and then to take possession of the realm.[c] The truce proved of no advantage. The
A. D. 1003. Danes under Swain, and aided by the traitor Ælfric, stormed Exeter; and, after desolating Hampshire and Wiltshire with fire and sword, they retreated to their ships, or, as the annalist poetically expresses it, "Swain went then to Salisbury, and thence went to the sea again, where he knew that his sea-horses were"[d] In
A. D. 1004. the following year, Swain arrived with his fleet at Norwich, which he burnt, and, while the people were

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 407, and Ingram. Mr. Sharon Turner, however, with whom Southey agrees, conjectures that "Mænige" meant the Isle of Man, and nôt Anglesea.

[b] Ibid. pp. 408, 409.

[c] Ibid. p. 409.

[d] Ibid. pp. 410, 411.

treating with him, he marched stealthily to Thetford; upon which Ulfcytel, the King's principal officer, directed all the enemy's ships to be "hewed in pieces," but his orders were not obeyed. He then collected his forces, and met the Danes on their way from Thetford, which place they had sacked and burnt. After a desperate battle, in which Ulfcytel was slain, and which the Danes described as the "worse hand-play" they had experienced from the English, they embarked; and in the following year their fleet returned to Denmark. About Midsummer in 1006, the "great fleet" of the Danes landed at Sandwich, burning and pillaging wherever they came. For the third time, Ethelred, with the advice of his Council, "though it was hateful to them all," obtained a truce by giving provisions and paying thirty-six thousand pounds as tribute to the enemy.[a] Great efforts were made during the truce to form a Navy, and in 1008 the King ordered that numerous ships should be immediately built throughout England;[b] for which purpose a tax was levied, which is considered the first impost of the kind, and the earliest precedent of ship-money. Within a year these ships were ready, and "there were so many of them as never before had been among the English nation in any King's days."[c] It has been calculated that the tax must have produced 800 ships, and armed 30,000 men. This numerous fleet was directed to rendezvous at Sandwich, to be in readiness to defend the coast: but Ethelred's usual ill-fortune attended him; or, as it is forcibly expressed,[d] "but still we had not the good-fortune, nor the wor-

A. D. 1005.

A. D. 1006.

A. D. 1008.

A. D. 1009

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 412, 413.
[b] Vide p. 25, *ante*.
[c] Saxon Chronicle, p. 413.
[d] Ibid.

A. D. 1009. thiness, that the ship-force could be of any use to this land, any more than it oft before had been."

Twenty of Ethelred's ships were enticed away by Wulfnoth, a South-Saxon, father of the celebrated eorl Godwin; and, when eighty ships under Brihtric were sent in pursuit of him, they were dispersed by a gale of wind of unprecedented violence, and many of them driven ashore. Wulfnoth, taking advantage of this circumstance, hastened to attack the distressed vessels, and burnt the whole of them. Intelligence of this event having reached the King, who was with the other part of his fleet at Sandwich, the crews were struck with despair; and Ethelred, his nobility, and council having all deserted the ships, the sailors rowed them back[a] to London, "and they let the whole nation's toil thus lightly pass away."[b] The Danes took immediate advantage of this extraordinary proceeding. An army under Thurkil having menaced Canterbury, the inhabitants, joining the other people of East Kent, gave him three thousand pounds to quit the neighbourhood; and marching into Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire, he laid the whole country waste. Ethelred's attempt to rouse the nation against the invaders utterly failed. They again entered Kent, took up their winter-quarters on the Thames, and often attacked London, though without effect; for "praise be to God," says the annalist, "that it yet stands sound, and they there ever fared evilly."[c] During Lent the enemy repaired their ships.

The deplorable condition of England for some years after this time forms part of the general history of the

[a] Ingram's translation. [b] Ibid. pp. 413, 414.
[c] Ibid. p. 414.

country; and no maritime event of any importance is recorded, except that in 1012 forty-five Danish ships were hired to defend the coasts,[a] until the invasion of England by Swain about July 1013. Having assembled a large fleet equipped with great splendour, the prows of his ships being adorned with lions, eagles, dolphins, and dragons, and accompanied by his son Canute, he landed at Sandwich; but he soon after proceeded to the mouth of the Humber, and thence along the Trent, until he reached Gainsborough. The northern parts of England submitted to him without resistance; and, having "victualled" and "horsed" his army, and committed the hostages and his ships to the care of Canute, he marched southward. On Swain's arrival before London, where Ethelred had taken up his quarters, he was so successfully opposed, that he immediately went into the western counties, where he was everywhere acknowledged as King. London soon after submitted to him, and he returned northward to his ships.[b]

A. D. 1012.

A. D. 1013.

Swain's reign was of short duration, and that of his son Canute, who succeeded to his usurped authority in February 1014, is famous for several naval occurrences, not the least remarkable of which is the fact that he was elected King by the fleet.[c] Though the seamen preferred to be governed by their commander, the great body of the people wished to see Ethelred restored to his dominions, declaring, "that no lord was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them rightlier than he had before done." Having promised by his

A. D. 1014.

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 418. See p. 26, *ante*.

[b] Ibid. pp. 418, 419.

[c] "And all the fleet then chose Cnut for King." Ibid. p. 420.

A. D. 1014. son Edward to redress their wrongs, and to forgive all that had been done against him, a compact was agreed to (the first which is known to have been made between the monarch and the people of England), and every Danish King was outlawed from England for ever. Ethelred returned about March, and, according to the Saxon Chronicle, he proceeded immediately against Canute at Lindsey, who then retired to his ships and sailed for Sandwich, where he landed the hostages which had been given to his father, first cruelly mutilating them by cutting off their noses, ears, and hands. "Besides all these evils," Ethelred levied £21,000 for the army at Greenwich.[a]

A very remarkable circumstance is said by an Icelandic historian to have occurred soon after Ethelred arrived in England; but, as it is unnoticed by any native writer, the statement must be received with some suspicion.[b] Before Ethelred proceeded to meet Canute at Lindsey, he was joined by King Olaf, with a large fleet of Scandinavian ships; and it was determined to retake London from the Danes. For this purpose it was necessary to pass the wooden bridge, which was wide enough for two carriages to pass, and was fortified with towers and a parapet breast-high; together, at its south end, by a strong work made of wood and stone, and protected by a deep ditch. The first attack upon the bridge failed; the Danes having bravely defended it. Ethelred then consulted with Olaf

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 420, 421.

[b] It was first introduced into English history by Southey (I. 84, 85), who expresses no doubt of its accuracy, and says he owes his knowledge of this interesting fact to Mr. Rickman's statement of progress under the Population Act of 1830, where the Latin translation of Snorre's narrative is given (p. 16, 17); Southey adds that the original Icelandic may be found in Johnston's "Antiquitatis Celto Scandicæ," 89, 90.

what measures should be adopted, who proposed the following plan. Taking the beams and planks from some deserted houses, he constructed projections from his ships, which, being roofed over, were expected to protect the crews against missiles; but he was disappointed, as the weight of the stones thrown upon them from the bridge beat in the roofs, injured the men, and so shook the ships that some of them were obliged to sheer off. It was, therefore, necessary to devise another scheme. Olaf then succeeded in fastening strong cables or chains to the trestles which supported the bridge; and when the tide ebbed, the vessels, rowing away, carried the middle of the bridge with them. Many of the Danes were consequently precipitated into the Thames, and the others took refuge in the city or in Southwark. The river being opened to the combined fleets, the south work was next attacked and carried, and the Danes were no longer able to prevent the Londoners from receiving their King.

From Sandwich Canute marched through Kent into Wessex, ravaging Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire; and, while Ethelred lay sick at Cosham, Eadric the eorldorman induced forty of his ships to join Canute's fleet.[a] At Easter in 1016, Canute, with one hundred and sixty ships, approached towards London, but before they arrived Ethelred had died; and all the Witan who were in London, and the citizens, immediately elected his son Edmund to succeed him, who obtained the surname of "Iron-side." Canute's ships came to Greenwich early in May, and soon after went to London. Having dug a large ditch on the south side of the city, they dragged their ships to

April 23rd 1016.

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 422; Ingram, p. 195.

the westward of the bridge, and then entrenched the city, so that none could enter or leave it. Frequent skirmishes occurred with the inhabitants, who resolutely defended the place. King Edmund during these operations was employed in reducing the western parts of the kingdom to his authority; and after various conflicts he appeared before London, and compelled the Danes to raise the siege, and return to their ships. Another attempt against London was made soon after Edmund left it, both by land and water, "but Almighty God delivered it."[a] On the death of
A. D. 1016. Edmund Ironside in November 1016, Canute became
A. D. 1018. the undisputed monarch of all England. In 1018 he sent part of his forces back to Denmark; but he retained forty ships until the following year, when he
A. D. 1019. went with them to that kingdom.[b] Canute return-
A. D. 1022. ed to England early in 1020, and in 1022 he is said to have accompanied his fleet to the Isle of Wight; but, as in 1023 he is stated to have "come again to England," it would seem that he had made a more
A. D. 1025. distant voyage, and probably to Denmark.[c] In 1025 Canute again visited Denmark with his ships, and being attacked at the Holm by a Swedish fleet and army, after a sanguinary conflict the Swedes remained in possession of the field.[d] His return to England is
A. D 1028. not noticed; but in 1028 he went from England, "with fifty ships of English thanes," to Norway, and, having driven King Olaf out of the country, took possession of his dominions. From this time until after the death of Canute in 1035, and of his son Harold in 1039, nothing took place in which the Navy

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 422—424.
[b] Ibid. p. 426.
[c] Ibid. pp. 427, 428.
[d] Ibid. pp. 428, 429.

was concerned; but, in 1039, Hardicanute, who was at Bruges when Harold died, arrived at Sandwich before Midsummer with sixty ships, and imposed the heavy tax before mentioned for the support of their crews.[a]

Eorl Godwin, who had incurred Hardicanute's displeasure from being supposed to have been implicated in the murder of his brother Alfred, having made his peace with the King by swearing to his innocency of that transaction, presented his sovereign with a ship splendidly equipped. The prow was gilded all over: it was manned with a skilful crew, and armed with eighty soldiers, each of whom wore two bracelets on both arms, weighing sixteen ounces of gold. They were girded with golden swords; their helmets and habergeons were gilt; each bore on his left shoulder a Danish axe, and held in his right hand a spear, "called in English ategar."[b]

Edward the Confessor ascended the throne in 1041, A. D. 1041. and in 1044 he went to Sandwich with thirty-five ships. In the next year he collected as large a fleet A. D. 1042. at that port as ever had been seen in England, in consequence of Magnus King of Norway having threatened to invade this country.[c] His contentions with Swain in Denmark prevented Magnus, according to the Saxon annalist, from carrying his designs into effect;[d] but the Danish historians attribute to him the moderation of having assured Edward that he was contented with his northern dominions. The great preparations that were made to resist an invasion show, however, that, if this assurance were given, no

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 433. Vide p. 26, *ante*.

[b] Florence of Worcester, p. 623, who calls the vessel a "trierem."

[c] Saxon Chronicle, p. 435.

[d] Ibid. p. 435.

reliance was placed on its sincerity. In the same
A. D. 1048. year Swain requested King Edward to aid him with fifty ships against the King of Norway; but "the people," who seem to have had a potent voice in all affairs of magnitude,[a] did not think it advisable to comply with the demand, on account of Magnus' large navy.[b] About that time Lothen and Yrling attacked Sandwich with twenty-five piratical ships, and carried off a large booty. They then attempted to land in Thanet, but were beaten off, and went to the coast of Essex, where they seized men and property of every description. Proceeding to Flanders, they sold their spoils, and then returned to the East, whence they came.[c] The King and his eorls are said
A. D. 1048. to have put to sea in their ships in 1048; but it does not appear that any encounter took place with the enemy.[c]

A. D. 1049. In 1049, during the war between the Emperor and Baldwin Count of Flanders, the Emperor requested King Edward to assist him with his ships, to prevent Baldwin's escape by sea. The protection which the Count had afforded to the Danish pirates, who found both harbours and a market for their plunder in Flanders, induced Edward to comply with the request. He accordingly went to Sandwich, where he remained with his fleet until the Emperor compelled Baldwin to accept his conditions,[d] when, thinking that so large a navy was no longer required, he permitted the Mercians to return home. Hearing that Osgod lay at Ulp with thirty-nine ships, the King sent after the

[a] "Ac eall folc withcwæth," "but all people opposed it;" Saxon Chronicle, p. 438. In another copy the words are "æc hit thuhte unræd eallum," "but it seemed unadvisable to all people;" Ibid. p. 437.

[b] Ibid. p. 437. [c] Ibid. p. 438.

[d] Ibid. pp. 438, 439.

vessels which were lying at the Nore, that they might pursue them: but Osgod went to Flanders with six of his ships to fetch his wife; and the others landed in Essex, where the crews committed great devastations, and then re-embarked. [a] A. D. 1049.

While the King was at Sandwich in 1049, the eorl Swain, son of eorl Godwin, came to Bosham with seven ships; and, having obtained Edward's protection, was promised to be restored to all his possessions. His brothers, eorl Harold, and eorl Beorn, however, opposed that concession; but allowed him four days to return to his ships. At this moment news arrived that some vessels of the enemy were ravaging the western coast; and two of "the King's ships," one commanded by eorl Godwin, and the other by Tostig, the brother of eorl Harold, together with forty-two of "the people's ships," were sent in pursuit. Being driven by stress of weather into Pevensey, eorl Swain came there, and begged of eorl Beorn to accompany him to Sandwich, that he might intercede for him with the King. On their way, Swain begged of Beorn to go with him to his ships; alleging, that if he did not appear, his sailors would quit the vessels. Beorn, suspecting no deceit, agreed to do so, but nevertheless refused to go on board; whereupon Swain ordered his men to seize him and throw him into the boat, and, having bound him, they rowed to the ship. As soon as Swain was on board, they made sail for Dartmouth, where they killed him, and buried his body in the church; but his friends removed it to Winchester, and interred him with his uncle King Canute. Swain then went to Flanders, and wintered at Bruges. [b] A. D. 1049.

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 440.

[b] Ibid. pp. 440, 441.

A. D. 1049. Shortly before the murder of Beorn, two ships belonging to the men of Hastings attacked and captured two of Swain's ships; and, after killing their crews, brought the vessels to the King at Sandwich.[a] In the same year, thirty-six ships came from Ireland to the assistance of Griffith King of Wales. Towards the end of the year, King Edward "discharged nine ships from pay, and they went away, ships and all; and five ships remained behind, and the King promised them
A. D. 1050. twelve months' pay."[b] In 1050 he also discharged all the "lithsmen"[c] from pay. In consequence of a
A. D. 1051. quarrel in 1051, between Eustatius Count of Bologne, the King's brother-in-law, and the inhabitants of Dover, Edward ordered eorl Godwin to proceed to that place and punish the aggressors; but Godwin, believing the townsmen to have been in the right, refused to obey, and his turbulent sons Swain and Harold took part with their father. The rebellion of so powerful a family rendered it necessary to assemble the Great Council or Witan, by which Swain was declared an outlaw, and his father and brothers were ordered to appear before them. Godwin demanded a safe-conduct and hostages, which were refused; but he was allowed five nights to quit the Kingdom, and was with all his sons outlawed. Accompanied by Swain, Godwin went to Bosham, and "shoved out their ships," in which they proceeded to Flanders, where they continued all the winter.[d] In the mean time, eorl Harold
A. D. 1052. embarking at Bristol had gone to Ireland; and in the next year he appeared with his ships off the entrance

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 441.

[b] Ibid. pp. 441, 442.

[c] Mr. Ingram translates "lithmans" by "lightermen."

[d] Ibid. p. 444.

of the Severn, pillaged several places in Devonshire A. D. 1052.
and Somersetshire, and "slew more than thirty good Thanes, besides other people." Forty ships[a] were fitted out at Sandwich, under the command of the eorls Raulf and Odda; but they lay many weeks there waiting for eorl Godwin, who contrived to escape their vigilance, and had effected a landing near Romney. Godwin, from his great popularity, had no difficulty in raising followers in his own territories. The men of Kent, and all the "butsecarls,"[b] or boatmen, of Hastings and the neighbouring havens, flocked to him, "declaring that they with him would live and die." As soon as the King's fleet were aware of Godwin's arrival, they sailed in pursuit of him; but he avoided them, and the ships returned to Sandwich, "and so homeward to London," when other eorls and commanders were appointed to them. Godwin then went to the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by his son Harold from Ireland with nine ships; and, having increased his force with the butsecarls of Romney and Folkstone, came to Sandwich "with an overflowing army."[c]

Soon afterwards eorl Godwin entered the Thames, and anchored off Southwark until the flood-tide made, during which time he entered into a treaty with the townspeople. Weighing anchor with the flood, his ships passed through the bridge on the south side of the river, while his land-forces lined the shore; and they then stood over to the north side, as if they designed to hem in the King's fleet, which consisted of fifty ships. At this critical moment, however, the

[a] "Smacks," Ingram.
[b] "Boatmen," Ibid.
[c] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 446, 448.

quarrel between the King and the turbulent eorls was peaceably settled; both armies being unwilling to fight against men of their own race.[a]

The only occasions on which anything relating to the Navy is mentioned for the ensuing fourteen years
A. D. 1063. is in 1063, when eorl Harold burnt the town and shipping of King Griffith at Rudeland. The Welsh prince was soon after slain by one of his own men; and his naval reputation is shown by the prow of his ship, and the "bone"[b] therewith, being brought with his own head as trophies to the King.[c] This was the Confessor's last triumph, and he died on the 5th of January in the ensuing year. King Edward's piety and virtues excited the Saxon annalist into poetry, and among the other merits which he ascribes to him were these—

"Where'er embrace
Cold ocean's waves
There all to Edward
Noble King!
Obeyed faithfully
The warrior men."

A. D. 1066. Early in 1066, eorl Tostig with a large fleet appeared off the Isle of Wight, and levied money and provisions. He then went into the Humber with sixty ships, whence he was driven by the land-forces of eorl Edwine; and, being forsaken by the butsecarls, he proceeded to Scotland with only twelve vessels. Meeting the King of Norway with three hundred ships, Tostig placed himself under his command, or, as is said, "became his man;" and with their combined force sailed up the Humber to York, where they defeated

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 448, 449.
[b] The "bone" is translated by Mr. Ingram as the "rigging" of Griffith's ship.
[c] Saxon Chronicle, p. 458.

the English under the eorls Edwin and Morcar. The Northmen were, however, soon after completely routed, their leaders were slain, and driven to their ships by King Harold, after a long and sanguinary battle at Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire on the 25th of September,[a] in which Harold was wounded. When "the Normen were put to flight, the English from behind hotly smote them, until they came, some to their ships, some were drowned, and some also burned; and thus in divers ways they perished, so that there were few left: and the English had possession of the place of carnage."[b]

In the spring of that year, the largest fleet and army ever seen in England were assembled at Sandwich to resist the invasion with which England was threatened by the Duke of Normandy. Harold continued at Sandwich for some time; but either from the belief that the ships would not be wanted, or, as the annalist says, because their crews refused to serve after the feast of the Nativity of our Lady, the 8th of September, when their provisions were exhausted,[c] the King allowed them to return to their homes; and the ships were sent to London, many being lost on their passage.[d] A. D. 1066.

[a] Ibid. pp. 462, 465.

[b] Ibid. p. 462.

[c] "Then were the men's provisions gone;" but Mr. Ingram translates the passage "When the provisioning of the men began, and no man could keep them there any longer."

[d] Saxon Chronicle, p. 463.

CHAPTER III.

INVASION OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMANDY IN 1066.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NORMAN FLEET.—BATTLE OF HASTINGS.—ACCESSION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

A. D. 1066. WHEN William Duke of Normandy determined to assert his right to the Crown of England by invading the Kingdom, he was surprised and irritated to find that, though the principal nobility were favourable to his design, yet that his subjects generally were very unwilling to assist him. They said they could not afford to contribute any money, being then greatly in debt; that the Duke had already burthened them by his wars; that they were not bound to furnish him with an aid for an expedition beyond the sea; and that, if he failed in this enterprise, their country would be ruined.[a] Artifice, however, overcame the objections of the weak, the ambitious were lured by splendid promises, and the pious overawed by a sense of religion. Though bodies of men refused to contribute, their opposition was destroyed by the Duke's application to them individually.[b] When they stipulated, as the price of compliance with his demands, that they should be enriched by grants of land in England, William's generosity seemed as boundless as their own

[a] Thierry, Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre, ed. 1826, tome I. 283; Chronique de Normandie, tome XIII. 235. [b] Ibid.

desires; and the only remaining class of opponents A. D. 1066.
could not withstand the arrival of a bull, excommunicating Harold, and sanctioning William's pretensions, accompanied by the unusual marks of the Pontiff's favour and protection, of a consecrated gonfanon, and a ring containing one of the hairs of Saint Peter.[a]

Reluctance and indifference then gave place to enthusiasm, and the Normans entered warmly into the design. The Baron Fitz-Osbert offered sixty ships filled with soldiers, the Bishop Odo forty, the Bishop of le Mans thirty with crews and pilots, and all the other barons a number of ships proportioned to their revenues.[b] Money, armour, stores, provisions, and all other necessaries for the enterprise were also freely bestowed. Soldiers from the adjoining provinces, and adventurers of all classes, entreated to be allowed to join the expedition; some of whom stipulated for money, others for lands, while others, with better taste, demanded a wealthy Saxon heiress as the price of their services.[c] England appeared to be the modern Land of Promise; and even ecclesiastical preferment was bartered by the future monarch for military aid,—a priest of Fescamp, named Remi, having obtained the promise of an English bishoprick for a ship with twenty men-at-arms.[d]

During the spring and summer of 1066, all the harbours and haens of Normandy were the scene of warlike preparation. Ships were building in every port, and smiths and armourers were constantly em-

[a] Chron. de Normandie, p. 226; Wace, ed. Pluguet, p. 140.
[b] Wace, p. 135.
[c] Chron. de Normandie, XIII. 227.
[d] Orderic. Vitalis, p. 494; Eadmeri Hist. I. 7; William of Malmesbury, de Gest. Pontif. Angl., 290.

A. D. 1066. ployed in the manufacture of coats of mail, helmets, swords, lances, and other weapons.[a]

William appointed the mouth of the Dive, a small river between the Seine and the Orne, as the place of general rendezvous for his ships and army; and, after being kept there nearly a month by contrary winds, his fleet anchored off Saint Valery, near Dieppe. Heavy rain and bad weather, during which several vessels with their crews had foundered, greatly depressed the spirits of the troops and seamen; and they inferred from these untoward events, and the prevalence of a foul wind, that God was offended with the design, and had thus manifested his displeasure.[b] Fearful that they might abandon the enterprise, William, himself a prey to anxiety, and not altogether free from the superstition of his followers, stimulated their frames by strong liquors,[c] while he fortified their minds by religious associations. He repaired frequently to the little church of St. Valery, where he remained long in prayer; and his rapid glance at the weather-cock on its steeple, on quitting the edifice, plainly showed the subject of his orisons. His invocations having failed, and the spirits of his soldiers becoming still more dejected, he caused the relics of the tutelary Saint, whence the town derives its name, to be carried from the church throughout his camp. The whole army bowed down in prayer before the Saint's remains; and officers and soldiers, according to their means, offered so liberally that the shrine was

[a] Wace, p. 141, says, "Workmen were employed in all the ports cutting of planks, framing of ships and boats, stretching sails, and rearing masts." These preparations are graphically represented in the Bayeux tapestry.

[b] William of Poitiers, apud Duchesne, p. 198; Malmesbury, p. 100.

[c] William of Poitiers, p. 198.

buried beneath gold and silver.[a] St. Valery was neither insensible nor ungrateful; for the very next night the wind changed, and the weather became fine and serene. At day-break on the 27th of September the camp was broken up, the soldiers embarked, and before sun-set the whole fleet was under weigh. A. D. 1066. Sept. 27.

Writers differ much as to the number of the Norman vessels, and of the soldiers they contained. Four hundred ships with large masts and sails, and more than a thousand transport-boats, and sixty thousand troops, is the estimate of the learned historian of the event;[b] while other authorities rate the fleet from six hundred and ninety-six[c] to one thousand,[d] but one writer says there were "three thousand which carried sails."[e] The great variation in these accounts may probably be attributed to some writers having included, while others omitted, in their enumeration, the smaller transports and boats. An approximation to accuracy might be obtained if the exact number of the soldiers were known; but, as this is also doubtful, there are no means of arriving at the truth on either point. However greatly William's forces may have been overrated, it is certain that he invaded England with a large army both of cavalry and infantry; and, as it

[a] Wace, p. 146.

[b] Monsieur Thierry.

[c] Wace. Simeon of Durham says 900 ships, and La Chronique de Normandie states that there were 907 "great ships." William of Poitiers says that Agamemnon had 1000 ships to conquer Troy; but that William required more to obtain the Crown of England.

[d] A contemporary manuscript in the Bodleian Library, which will be particularly alluded to in the APPENDIX. Though the authenticity of this statement has been doubted, there are strong reasons for believing in its genuineness.

[e] William of Jumieges, Hist. Norm. p. 286. Wace says, on the authority of his father,

"Mais jo oi dire à mon perc,
Bien m'en sovint, maiz varlet ere.
Ke set cenz nés, quatre meins, furent,
Quant de Saint Valeri s'esmurent,
Ke nés, ke batels, ke esqueis
A porter armes è herneis,
E jo en escript ai trové
Ne sai dire c'est vérité,
Ke il i out treis mille nés
Ke porteront veiles è très," p. 145.

A. D. 1066. made only one passage, the small vessels of which it consisted must have been very numerous. It seems incredible, that while this vast expedition was preparing in Normandy with the avowed object of invading England, and within three weeks of its sailing, that Harold should have laid up his ships, and allowed their crews to return to their homes, thus enabling the enemy to land without even an attempt to oppose them at sea, though only a few months before he had equipped a fleet for that special object. It has been suggested, that the danger arising from the arrival of the Norwegian army under Tostig in the north was more pressing than the threatened invasion from Normandy; and that, as its descent had been so long delayed, Harold supposed that the expedition would not be ready until the winter:[a] but as William did not at any time discontinue his preparations, nor even pretend to relinquish his design, the disbanding of the English Navy is as extraordinary as it was impolitic, and can only be accounted for by supposing that the crews had refused to serve.[b] Having cleared the coast, William led his fleet in his own ship, the annexed engraving of which is taken from the representation of it, worked on tapestry by, it is said, his consort, afterwards Queen Matilda, and her ladies.[c]

[a] Thierry, I. 296.

[b] Vide p. 55, *ante*.

[c] In the Bayeux tapestry. Antiquaries have differed respecting the date of this remarkable piece of needle work. By the Abbé de la Rue, Hume, and others, it is supposed to have been the work of the Empress Matilda, the Conqueror's grand-daughter (Archæologia, XVII. 85 *et seq.*); but Monsieur Lancelot, Monsieur Le Prevost, Mr. Hudson Gurney, Stothard, and many other writers, confidently assert that it was contemporary with the events which it depicts, and ascribe it to Queen Matilda and her ladies. See the dissertation by Monsieur Lancelot in "Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres," VIII. 602, reprinted by Monsieur Thierry, I. 342; and the Archæologia, XVIII. 359.

It appears that the Conqueror's ship was distinguished by having at its mast-head a sort of square white banner charged with a gold cross within a blue border, surmounted by another cross of gold, which is supposed to have been the gonfanon given to him by the Pope; but it may have been his usual ensign. His ship is larger than any of the others, and contains ten men. The prow is ornamented with a lion's head; and at the stern is the effigy of a boy blowing a horn, and holding in his left hand a gonfanon. It is remarkable that in the list of William's fleet before referred to,[a] this ornament should be expressly mentioned; and the ship itself is there said to have been the gift of his consort, and called "Mora," which is supposed to mean "mansion" or "habitation." The following is a literal translation of that statement:—"Matilda, afterwards Queen, wife of the Duke, in honour of the said Duke, caused a ship to be built called 'Mora,' in which he was conveyed.

[a] P. 59, note[d], *ante*; and APPENDIX I.

On the prow of which ship the same Matilda caused a golden boy to be placed, pointing to England with his right fore-finger, and pressing an ivory horn to his mouth with his left hand; in return for which the Duke granted to the said Matilda the county of Kent."[a] At the top of the mast, according to Wace, was a gilt brass vane, and a lantern; but neither appears on the ship in the tapestry. The sail[b] is in three stripes, red (or brown), yellow and red, and the steersman holds the sheet in one hand and the clavus in the other. It does not appear which of the men was intended for the Duke, unless it be the one who is standing up, with his hand round the mast; but his dress is precisely similar to that of the steersman and of some of the crew. Round the gunwale, on one side, thirteen shields are placed; and, supposing that there were the same number on the opposite side, the vessels must have carried more men than the fair artists have introduced, and which may be safely presumed from other circumstances.

The name of the captain of William's ship was Stephen Fitz Erard; and he was evidently the "Stefanus Stirman," who, together with several of the King's followers, including his chamberlain, his physician, and Turstin his mechanist, were exempted by the King from paying a tax for their houses in

[a] Wace likewise notices the figure, and also says it was placed at the prow.

[b] Monsieur Thierry, (I. 291,) misled by a drawing of a ship of the reign of Edward the First, in Strutt's "Manners and Customs," says, the sail of the Conqueror's ship was painted with three lions, the arms of Normandy; forgetting that armorial ensigns were not introduced until long after that period. That learned writer has afterwards repeated the same anachronism. (II. 33.) Southey, (I. 119,) but it does not appear on what authority, calls the sails "crimson," and says that the Pope's banner was white.

Southampton.[a] Nothing more is known of him, except that he was the father of the commander of the vessel in which, fifty-four years afterwards, the Conqueror's grandson, Prince William, was wrecked on the coast of Normandy.

Two other ships of the Conqueror's fleet are thus represented; and they differ only from that of the Duke, by being smaller, by the sails being divided into horizontal compartments, by their being laden with horses, by the absence of any ornament at the stern, and in one of them, also at the prow, and by there being no shields round the gunwales;—

THE HORSE BOATS.

As the Bayeux tapestry affords the best, if not the only contemporary representation of ships, it is desirable to describe all the naval subjects that occur in it. The first vessel introduced is that in which Harold sailed for Normandy in 1065. He appears in a large boat, with seven men and one mast, but without a sail: it is being pushed off from the shore with

[a] Domesday Book, vol. i. p. 52.

oars, and has an anchor over the bows. A smaller boat is near it. He then appears in a ship with one mast, and a very large green sail, going before the wind, containing fourteen men, with shields round the gunwales; and one shield is suspended over the bows. He is next seen landing from another representation of his ship, the sail of which is of four cloths party-coloured, and the prow and stern are ornamented with lions' heads. A boy is at the mast-head, apparently to look out; two men are pulling, and a man holds an anchor in his hand over the bow. Harold is then seen landing from a boat at anchor, and is arrested by Guy Count of Poitou. The ship in which Harold returns to England has no peculiarity from the others; but the vessel which brings a messenger to inform William of the death of Edward the Confessor, and Harold's accession, has only four men, one of whom carries out in his hand a small anchor without a stock.

Preparations for the invasion are shown by men hewing timber, and cutting it into planks for ship-building. The ships are afterwards launched, and the process is remarkable. Two ropes being affixed to their bows, and drawn through a block on a post, the vessels are pulled by several men to the water. The Conqueror's fleet is represented as consisting of twelve ships of different sizes; and some have from three to eight horses on board. On reaching England, the mast was struck by being lowered forwards, and the horses were landed by leaping over the gunwale; which proves that the vessels were of very small size, and low in the water. All the ships are marked horizontally by four or more lines, perhaps to represent planks; and these divisions are always dif-

ferently coloured,—blue, yellow, red; blue, yellow, red, or blue, yellow; or blue and yellow; the Conqueror's vessel being painted alternately brown and blue. A.D. 1066.

William's ship sailed much faster than the rest, and was so far a-head of the fleet, that at day-break the next morning none of the others could be seen. He, therefore, sent a sailor to the mast-head to look for them: "I see nothing but sea and sky," he exclaimed; and the ship was immediately brought to an anchor. A good breakfast and spiced wines having been served, the man was again sent to look out, when he descried four vessels; and, ascending the mast for a third time, "I see," he said, "a forest of masts and sails."[a] As soon as the body of the fleet had come up, William weighed; and his army landed without any resistance at Pevensey, near Hastings, on the 28th of September 1066. When the army had disembarked, he ordered his ships to be drawn on shore and destroyed.[b] Sept. 28.

Harold was then at York, recovering from his wound; but, the moment he was informed of the arrival of the Normans, he conducted his forces southward, ordering all the soldiers in his dominions to hasten to him and repel the invaders. Confident of success, he is said, on reaching London, to have manned seven hundred ships and sent them to prevent William's escape;[c] but the statement is very doubtful, inasmuch as he had disbanded his ships, and their crews could not have been so suddenly collected.

[a] William of Poitiers, p. 199.

[b] Wace, "trestut percie è tut dolé;" but the fact has been doubted.

[c] William of Poitiers, 201; Orderic Vital. 500.

A. D. 1066. Though the English army was greatly inferior in numbers to the enemy, Harold nobly refused to
Oct. 14. compromise his rights; and, on the 14th of October, the memorable battle of Hastings, in which he fell, gave a new dynasty to England.

Shortly before the battle, some vessels were sent from Normandy with reinforcements, but, having by mistake landed at Romney, the inhabitants attacked and routed them;[a] and, to prevent a similar occurrence to the other ships which he was expecting, William continued on the coast, instead of marching immediately to London; and he did not enter the metropolis until he had burnt the town of Romney, and besieged and taken Dover Castle.

After William had entirely subdued England, he found himself almost without the means of defending her shores. The greater part of the navy had been carried to Ireland by Godwin and Edmund, the sons of King Harold; and he had destroyed the vessels which conveyed his army across the Channel.

A. D. 1067. In 1067, one of these young Saxon princes suddenly made a descent with his ships at the mouth of the Avon, and, after plundering the country, attacked Bristol; but the inhabitants gallantly repelled his attempt to storm the town, and he retreated to his ships. He then landed in Somersetshire, and being met by a force under Ednoth, the master of the horse, a conflict took place, in which that officer and many men on both sides were slain, and the invaders returned to
A. D. 1068. Ireland.[b] In the following year they appeared in the Tavy with sixty-four ships, but were attacked, and so completely beaten by the eorl Breon and the people

[a] William of Poitiers, p. 204. [b] Saxon Chronicle, ed. Ingram, p. 269.

of Devonshire, that it is said scarcely enough men survived to man two of their vessels.[a] A. D. 1069.

A formidable descent was made upon England by Swain King of Denmark in 1069, in support of the right which he conceived himself to have inherited to the crown. His sons, Harold and Canute,[b] embarked in a fleet consisting of two hundred and forty vessels, under the command of their uncle Osbern. About August the expedition entered the Humber, and landed at York, when it was immediately joined by Edgar Atheling and three Saxon eorls with the Northumbrians. Advancing upon York, and plundering everywhere on their march they stormed and destroyed the castle, slew many hundreds of Normans who formed the garrison and had previously burnt the minster, and carried off the remainder of their prisoners to their ships. William hastened into the north with his whole army; but the enemy's fleet lay, says the Saxon annalist, "the whole winter in the Humber, where the King could not come at them;"—another proof that England was then without a navy. Having taken vengeance on the Northumbrians, William, imitating the example of the Saxon Kings, purchased the departure of the Danes by a large sum of money in addition to the booty they had acquired; and, by permitting them to ravage the northern coast on their voyage to Denmark, he made them the instrument of punishing his rebellious subjects,[c] while he himself desolated the whole country with barbarous severity. According to

[a] Saxon Chronicle, ed. Ingram, p. 270.

[b] The Saxon Chronicle, p. 270, says *three* sons of Swain were in the expedition.

[c] Ibid. p. 271.

the Saxon Chronicler, this arrangement was made, not with Osbern, but with the Danish monarch himself,
A. D. 1070. who arrived in the Humber in 1070, and being supported by all the Anglo-Danes and the people from the Fens, plundered the cathedral of Peterborough on the
June. 2nd of June, and conveyed the booty to Ely. He adds, that William and Swain then became reconciled, and that the Danes went out of Ely with their treasure, and carried it away with them. But they derived little benefit from the sacrilegious proceeding, as a violent storm dispersed their fleet, and many ships foundered; and, though a few did reach Denmark, the church in which they deposited the shrines and crucifixes which they had stolen was destroyed by fire.[a] Towards the end of the year some ships from the Humber appeared in the Thames; but they remained only two nights, and then returned to Denmark.[b]

In the five years that had elapsed since his accession, William succeeded in supplying the first necessity of
A. D. 1071. a maritime nation, by forming a navy. In 1071 he sent a ship as well as a land force against the rebellious eorl Morkar; and in the following year he invaded Scotland both by sea and land, when Malcolm was compelled to make peace, give hostages, and "be-
A. D. 1073. come his man."[c] In 1073 King William crossed the Channel with an army, and subdued the province of
A. D. 1075. Maine.[d] In 1075 two hundred ships are said to have come east from Denmark, wherein were two chieftains, Canute Swainson and the eorl Haco, "but they durst not maintain a fight with King William:"[e] though whether the annalist means at sea or on shore is un-

[a] Saxon Chronicle, pp. 273—276.
[b] Ibid. p. 276.
[c] Ibid. pp. 277, 278.
[d] Ibid. p. 278.
[e] Ibid. p. 282.

certain; probably the latter, as it is very doubtful if the English, or rather the Anglo-Norman, navy could have coped with so large a fleet. In 1076 William A. D. 1076. made an unsuccessful expedition into Brittany, "having lost there both men and horses, and many of his treasures."[a]

About 1083, the King received information that A. D. 1083. Canute, who had lately succeeded to the crown of Denmark, had determined to invade England; that Olaf King of Norway would aid him, by furnishing sixty large ships; and that Robert Count of Flanders, Canute's father-in-law, would furnish six hundred vessels, which, with those of Denmark, would have formed an immense fleet.[b] William, who was then in Normandy, took vigorous measures for resisting the attempt. He brought with him from France and Brittany so large an army of horse and foot, that "men wondered how this land could feed all that force;" and he is said to have distressed his subjects by reviving, or more properly levying, the danegeld.[c] Dissentions among the confederated princes, according to some writers, but bribes secretly given by the English King to Canute's counsellors, according to others, prevented the design from being carried into effect;[d] and England was never again menaced with invasion by a northern foe.

[a] Saxon Chronicle, p. 283.

[b] Snorre, Antiq. Celto-Scand. 226, 228; Pontanus, 197, 198; Holberg, 188, 189; cited by Southey, p. 182; Saxon Chronicle, p. 288; Malmesbury, II. 437.

[c] The Saxon Chronicle, p. 288, says, that information of the northern confederacy reached England in 1085; and that, in 1083, William levied a heavy contribution over all England of two and seventy pence on each hide of land. If these dates be correct, the tax could not have been caused by the intended attack upon England by the Danes.

[d] Florence of Worcester, 641. Malmesbury, II. 437, says that Canute's expedition was prevented by the prevalence of contrary winds for two years, which was attributed to witchcraft.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1066 TO 1099.—TAXES AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR NAVAL PURPOSES.—CONTEMPT OF THE NORMANS FOR COMMERCE.—ALTERATIONS IN THE LAW OF WRECK.—COURT OF ADMIRALTY.—SHIPS FORBIDDEN TO BE SOLD, OR SEAMEN TO LEAVE ENGLAND.—LONDON AND BRISTOL MARTS FOR COMMERCE.—REIGN OF RICHARD I. THE FIRST GREAT NAVAL EPOCH.—STATE OF HIS NAVY.—GALLEYS, DROMONS, BUSSES, VISSERS, ETC.—THEIR EQUIPMENT.—GREEK FIRE.—SEA-FIGHTS BETWEEN THE SARACENS AND CHRISTIANS.—NATIONAL COLOURS.—"ARTICLES OF WAR," LAWS OF OLERON, ETC.

NEARLY all the information which exists as to the form, size, and equipment of the Navy until after the accession of Richard the First, has been stated in the preceding chapter.

Taxes and contributions for naval purposes.

It may be safely presumed that the cities and towns furnished the number of vessels and men stipulated for by their tenures; and that, when more ships were required, they were obtained by the contributions called the danegeld, which William Rufus increased to four shillings from every hide of land, including the property of the Church, for the defence of Normandy.[a] In the Laws of Henry the First this tax is thus defined: "Danegeld, which was sometimes given to the tythingmen; that is, twelve pence for every hide by the year: if it be not rendered at the terms, the Witan shall be responsible."[b] King Stephen, is stated to have promised, at his coronation, to remit

[a] Laws of Edward the Confessor. [b] Ancient Laws, p. 228.

the danegeld for ever;[a] but Selden says it was sometimes paid in the time of Henry the Second.[b] In later periods subsidies were, as will afterwards appear, specially granted by Parliament for the defence of the realm and of the sea. The Conqueror on one occasion exchanged a carucate of land near the city of Lincoln with a man named Utchel for a ship.[c]

Contempt shewn by the Normans for commerce.

The contempt which the Normans entertained for commerce forms a striking contrast to the Anglo-Saxon law, by which a successful merchant obtained the rank of thane[d]; and the following passage in the Life of the Conqueror, by his chaplain, shows also the great extent of the trade of this country at that early period, and the arbitrary manner in which William dealt with the property of his new subjects:—"The English merchants add to the opulence of their country, rich in its own fertility, still greater riches and more valuable treasures by importation. These imported treasures, which were considerable both for their quantity and quality, were either to have been hoarded up for the gratification of their avarice, or to have been dissipated in the indulgence of their luxurious inclinations. But William seized them, and bestowed part on his victorious army, part on churches and monasteries; and to the Pope and the Church of Rome he sent an incredible mass of money in gold, silver, and many ornaments that would have been admired even at Constantinople."[e]

A. D. 1100—1135. Law of wreck.

To HENRY THE FIRST belongs the merit of having first mitigated the injustice of the ancient Common law relating to wrecks, by which, when a vessel was lost at

[a] Hoveden, p. 276; Roger of Wendover, ii. 218.
[b] Mare Clausum, cap. xxv.
[c] Domesday Book, i. 336.
[d] Vide, p. 22, *ante*.
[e] William of Poitiers, 216.

Law of wreck.

sea, and the cargo or goods floated upon the land, they belonged to the King; on the principle that, by the loss of the ship, all property had passed away from the original owner.[a] This, it has been truly said, was "undoubtedly adding sorrow to sorrow, and was consonant neither to reason nor humanity." It was therefore ordained by Henry, that, if any person escaped alive from the ship, it should not be considered a wreck.[b] Among the original prerogatives of the Crown was the

Royal fish.

right to what are now called "royal," but which were formerly termed "great fish," namely sturgeon and whale. "Of sturgeon caught on our lands, we will that it shall be ours, saving to the finder his costs and expenses. And, of whales so found, we will that the head shall be ours, and the tail our consort's, agreeable to ancient usage."[c] The right to these fish is said to have arisen from its being the duty of the King to protect the seas from pirates and robbers.[d]

Court of Admiralty.

It seems scarcely possible that Admirals and a Court of Admiralty should have existed so early as the time of Henry the First. Lord Coke only claims for that court an existence "long before the reign of Edward the Third:"[e] but his commentator, the

[a] Blackstone's Commentaries, I. 290; Doctor and Student, d. 2, c. 51.

[b] Blackstone, I. 290; Spelm. Cod. apud Wilkins, 305; Lord Lyttelton, (IV. 319; 412,) and other writers, have erroneously attributed to Henry the Second a still further modification of the law of wreck, the merit of which belongs to Henry the *Third*. The error arose from Rymer (Fœdera, I. 36) having assigned to the former a charter granted by the latter monarch in May 1236. Vide a subsequent page. Bromton, col. 1152, and Gervase of Canterbury, col. 1453, as well as William of Newbury, praise Henry the Second's humanity for having commanded that shipwrecked persons should be treated with kindness, and for having forbidden, under heavy penalties, any one to take their merchandize or effects from them.

[c] Britton, c. 17; Bracton, "de corona," lib. III. fol. 120.

[d] Blackstone.

[e] Fourth Institute, p. 142.

learned Prynne, states that he had seen[a] an ordinance made at Ipswich in the reign of King Henry the First, by the Admirals of the North and West, and other lords and divers Kings before that time, containing the manner of outlawing and banishing persons attainted of felony or trespass in the Admiral's Court; by which it was, he said, apparent that there was an Admiral's Court, and proceedings in it, even in criminal and capital causes relating to mariners and seamen, as well as in civil, in the reign of King Henry the First, derived from our ancient Saxon Kings, Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, and others, who had the dominion of the British ocean, which continued in use till the reign of King Richard the First."[b] The only payment which is known to have been made by Henry for any naval purpose was in 1130, when forty shillings were charged the King by Anketil de Wirec in his accounts of the revenues of the county of Durham, which he had laid out in purchasing two ships.[c]

Court of Admiralty.

In 1181, HENRY THE SECOND issued an ordinance regulating the quantity of arms which persons of various ranks were to furnish for the defence of the realm, and which contains a remarkable clause respecting the Navy. The justices itinerant were commanded to declare in each county, that no one under the heaviest penalties should buy or sell any ship to

A. D. 1181.

Ships not to be sold to foreigners.

[a] Black Book in the Admiralty, pp. 24, 27. It is much to be regretted that this book cannot now be found: it is not in the Registry of the Admiralty, nor in the Library at Doctors' Commons: nor has any trace of it been discovered. The great importance of the early documents referred to by Prynne, especially respecting the right of England to the dominion of the seas—the favourite object of all English jurists of his time—renders a rigid examination of the manuscript highly desirable; and as this seems impossible, too much caution cannot be shown, in adopting the quotations made from it.

[b] Animadversions on Coke's Fourth Institute, p. 106.

[c] Rot. Pip. 31 Hen. I. p. 133.

be taken from England, nor induce any seamen to go out of England.[a]

London and Bristol marts of commerce

The two great marts for foreign commerce in the twelfth century were London and Bristol. William of Malmesbury says, "The noble city of London, rich in the wealth of its citizens, is filled with the goods of merchants from every land, and especially from Germany; whence it happens that when there is a dearth in England, on account of bad harvests, provisions can be bought there cheaper than elsewhere; and foreign merchandize is brought to the city by the famous river Thames."[b] Of Bristol he observes, that "its haven was a receptacle for ships coming from Ireland, and Norway, and other foreign lands, lest a region so blessed with native riches should be deprived of the benefits of foreign commerce.[c]" The trade with Germany was particularly mentioned in a letter from Henry the Second to the Emperor Frederick, in the year 1157. "Let there," he says, "be between ourselves and our subjects an indivisible unity of friendship and peace, and safe trade of merchandize."[d]

A. D. 1189. The reign of RICHARD CŒUR DE LION forms the first great epoch in the Naval history of England. Ships of a much larger size, and of various descriptions, were constructed; voyages were performed to the Mediterranean; codes of marine law were established; and a British armament made conquests in distant seas.

The English Navy seems to have consisted, chiefly,

[a] Benedictus Abbas, I. 365—368.

[b] De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, lib. II. p. 133.

[c] Ibid. lib. IV. p. 161.

[d] Radevicus, Canonicus Frisingensis, lib. I. cap. xvii.; reprinted by Hakluyt.

if not entirely of large galleys, afterwards called gal- State of the Navy.
liasses and galiones, small and light galleys for war, and of busses,[a] which were large ships of burthen, with a bluff bow and bulging sides, chiefly used for the conveyance of troops, stores, provisions, and merchandise. No drawing or description of English ships before the reign of King Edward the Second, justifiest he idea that they had more than one mast; but some of the busses in the fleet which accompanied King Richard the First from Messina to Cyprus are said to have had a "three-fold expansion of sails,"[b] an ambiguous expression which may mean that they had three sails on one mast, or that the sails were affixed to two more masts.

The writers of the period also mention two other Dromons and Vissiers
kinds of vessels by the names of "dromons" and "vissiers." Though a dromon is said to have been originally a long swift ship, called also "cursoria,"[c] and though there is ample evidence that the largest species of galleys was termed "dromons," the word was nevertheless used by some choniclers to describe the same vessel as was by others called a "buss" or "large ship."[d] Vissers, sometimes written vrsers or ursers, were large flat vessels for carrying horses,[e] and were

[a] Bucca, buccia, bucea, buscia, bussa, burcia, a large ship like an ark, ("in similitudinem pixidis,") with bulging or bowed-out sides and obtuse prow. The derivations from the Dutch and Saxon, &c. would seem to make it literally *a big bellied vessel*, "panda alvo." — Ducange adds, that it is called in English a busse, and derives the word from the modern Greek βουτζον or βουτζιον, a wine-cask, on account of its shape.

[b] Roger of Wendover. Vide p. 114, *post*. The Extract in p. 77, and the records of the reign of King John, tend to show that vessels had then only one mast.

[c] Ducange.

[d] See the note in the APPENDIX.

[e] Ducange. Roquefort, who cites Ville-Hardouin:
"Les chevaux furent mises es *uissiers*," etc.
A representation of a vissier, from

similar to, if not the same as were afterwards called, palanders. Barges and snakes were also occasionally mentioned about this time; the former of which seem to have been small vessels for carrying goods,[a] perhaps not unlike the modern coasting barge, propelled with oars as well as sails, while the latter were evidently light vessels, similar to those with the same name before the Conquest, and which were subsequently called "Esnekka."[b]

Barges and Snakes.

The most satisfactory idea of the English Navy towards the end of the twelfth century is, however, afforded by the description of the fleet sent from England in 1189 to the Holy Land, and which, having missed King Richard at Marseilles, followed him to Messina. The King, according to the only writer[c] who has entered into details on the subject, found at Messina one hundred sail and fourteen busses, "vessels of great capacity, very strongly and compactly built." The principal ships had three spare

English fleet, 1189.

a drawing made in the next century, will be found in a subsequent page.

[a] All the extracts collected from early writers by Ducange, in which Barges were mentioned, show that they were classed with boats and other small vessels.

[b] See the note on the word "Esnecca" in the APPENDIX. Ducange and Roquefort cite Philip Mouske's MS. History of the French, f. 560, for notices not only of galleys, barges, ships, snakes, dromons, busses, and vissiers, but also of another kind of vessel, called by Ducange "roges," and in Roquefort's copy of the same quotation "Koyes." Ducange says (*in voce*) that "roges" were a kind of ship; but Roquefort does not give any explanation of "koyes." The fact, however, seems to be, that the word was misprinted by both glossarists, and that it is properly "koges," *i. e.* "cogs;" a well-known vessel, which came into use towards the end of the twelfth, or early in the thirteenth century, and will be often mentioned:—

"Al vent kil n'orent pas estroit,
Fit siggler a la muë droit,
Galies et *barges* et *nés*,
Esnecques et *dromons* fieres,
Koyes et *busses* et *wissiers*."

[c] Richard of Devizes, p. 17. As his narrative is in some places obscure, the original words of the most material passages will be given.

rudders, thirteen anchors,[a] thirty oars, two sails, three sets of all kinds of ropes, and duplicates of everything else which a vessel could require, except the mast and boat. Each vessel had a skilful commander and a crew of fourteen sailors, and carried forty war-horses with their armour, the same number of foot-soldiers, and provisions and stores of all kinds for twelve months.[b] English fleet, 1189.

As galleys were the principal vessels of war, more interest attaches to them than to mere transports, or what are now called merchantmen; and there is fortunately a contemporary description, not merely of those vessels, but of a naval engagement. Before the arrival of Richard the First in Palestine, an action occurred between the Turkish galleys and the allied Christian fleet; and the historian prefaces his account of the combat by pointing out the difference between the war-fleets of the Romans and those of his own time. "In those of old," he says, Galleys.

[a] It must be remembered that the rudder was merely a large oar or paddle over each quarter. (Vide p. 9 and 61, *ante*.) The extraordinary number of thirteen anchors is explained by their being mostly grapnels which were thrown on board an enemy's vessel in action or against fortifications. See p. 84, *post*, and the representation of a sea-fight in a subsequent page.

[b] "Naves, quas Rex in litore jam præsto invenit erant numero centum, et buccæ quatuordecim, vasa magnæ capacitatis et miræ agilitatis, vasa fortia et integerrima, quorum ornatus et ordinatus hic erat. Prima navium tria gubernacula vacantia habuit, tresdecim ancoras, triginta remos, duo vela, funes omnium generum triplices; et præter ista, quibuscunque navis egere posset dupla, præter malum et scapham. Ascribitur navis regimini rector unus doctissimus, et quatuordecim ei vernulæ electi in ministerium supputantur. Oneratur navis quadraginta equis de pretio exercitatis ad arma, et omni armorum genere, totidem equitum et quadraginta peditum, et quindecim navigantium, et victualibus per annum integrum tot hominum et equorum. Una erat omnium navium dispositio, singulæ vero bucearum ordinatus et oneris duplum receperunt."

Galleys. "the benches for the rowers were more numerous, amounting sometimes even to six; which rising gradually in distinct rows, some oars struck the waves with a long, and others with a shorter stroke; but modern galleys[a] were long, low in the water, and slightly built. They had rarely more than two banks of oars; and were armed with a beam fixed to the prow, called a spur, with which they struck against the enemies' ships. Another and smaller class of galley, called 'galiones,' had only one bank of oars; and, from being shorter and lighter, were more easily turned, and better adapted for throwing combustibles."[b] As in the ships of the preceding century, a bulwark was formed of shields,[c] and the rowers kept as close as possible to each other, that the soldiers, standing above them, might have more space to fight.

There is no account of the number of men in the galleys and busses; and the statement, that the Turkish dromon captured by King Richard contained fifteen hundred persons, is doubtless a great exaggeration.

Besides the common weapons, namely, swords, axes, lances, arrows, and other missiles, as well as engines for casting large stones, both the Saracens
Greek fire. and Christians used the Greek fire; an instrument of war more dreadful than gunpowder, or than any other discovery of modern chemistry. This celebrated projectile, the invention of Callinicus, a me-

[a] Vinesauf particularly says, that the middle syllable is long, "galēa."

[b] Vinesauf gives a similar description of a "galione" in another chapter. Vide p. 271.

[c] Vide pp. 17, 61, *ante*.

chanist of Heliopolis, about the seventh century, was long used with terrific effect by the Greeks, who called it the liquid fire, before its composition became known to other nations. Though its exact elements, and their proportions, can only be conjectured, naphtha, pitch, and sulphur are supposed to have been its principal ingredients. It was propelled in a fluid state through brazen tubes from the prows of vessels and fortifications with as much facility, and almost as much precision, as water is now thrown from a fire-engine. The moment it was exposed to the air it ignited, and became a continuous stream of fire, bringing with it excruciating torture and inevitable destruction. Unlike any other combustible, water increased its properties; and it could only be extinguished by vinegar, or stifled with sand; while to its other horrors were added a thick smoke, loud noise, and disgusting stench. Arrows received from the Hecatean mixture a double power; for, their heads being wrapped in tow and dipped in the preparation, they became carriers of lurid flame. It was kept in jars or large bottles; and being thrown on the decks of vessels, or from the walls of besieged places, ignited wherever it fell. No wonder that the stoutest hearts quailed before so irresistible and appalling a weapon. No wonder that it should always be mentioned with horror, or that almost incredible results should have been attributed to it. Greek fire.

The Greek fire was certainly introduced into England as early as, if not before, the time of Richard the First; for in 1194, or 1195, a payment was made by the King for carrying shields, quarrels, and other implements, and the "Greek fire," from London to

Greek fire. Nottingham to be used by Urric the engineer.[a] According to many writers, it fell into desuetude in consequence of the invention of gunpowder: but it is more likely that the secret of its composition was lost about the period of that discovery, as if Providence in its mercy would not allow two such scourges to exist together. Though inferior in many respects to gunpowder, it had many different and superior qualities; for a sudden explosion, and showers of balls, however frightful and destructive, are nothing when compared to engines pouring forth mephitic torrents of inextinguishable flame.

pents. Besides the Greek fire, "serpents" are particularly mentioned, and which, from the metaphorical description of their venomous and deadly powers, have been mistaken, even by learned writers, for living reptiles. Though no explanation of the term as a weapon has been found until the introduction of cannon, when the name was given to a particular piece of ordnance, serpents were no doubt a kind of fire-work, composed of the same materials as the Greek fire, and probably took their name from a fanciful resemblance, when ignited in the air, to those animals.

Although it is uncertain whether any English ships were engaged in the conflicts with the Saracens before the arrival of Richard the First in Palestine, yet, as the accounts given by Vinesauf of two sea-fights are perhaps the only existing descriptions of the naval

[a] Rot. Pip. 6 Ric. I. "Pro carriandis targiis et quarellis et pilettis et *igne Græco* à London' usque Nottingeham vjs. vj*d*. Et pro carriandis cordis et ferro et aliis necessariis à London' ad Nottingeham ad paranda ibidem ingenia vjs. Et pro garbis ferri emptis ad liberatis Urrico ingeniatori ad facienda negocia regis vjs." &c. Excerpta Historica, pp. 81, 428.

warfare of the period, it is desirable to insert a literal translation of his curious narrative. The first of these battles[a] appears to have taken place about Easter, 1190. Sea-fights in 1190.

"The people of the town (Acre) ill brooked their loss of the liberty of the sea, and resolved to try what they could effect in a naval battle. They brought out their galleys therefore two by two, and, preserving a seemly array in their advance, rowed out to the open sea to fight the approaching enemy; and our men preparing to receive them, since there appeared no escape, hastened to the encounter. On the other hand, our people manned the war-fleet, and, making an oblique circuit to the left, removed to a distance, so that the enemy should not be denied free egress. When they had advanced on both sides, our ships were disposed in a curved, and not a straight line; so that, if the enemy attempted to break through, they might be enclosed and defeated. The ends of the line being drawn out in a sort of crescent, the stronger were placed in front, so that a sharper onset might be made by us, and that of the enemy be checked. In the upper tiers the shields interlaced were placed circularly; and the rowers sat close together, that those placed above might have freer scope. The still and tranquil sea, as if fated to receive the battle, became calm; so that neither the blow of the warrior, nor the stroke of the rower, might be impeded by the waves. Advancing nearer to each other, the trumpets sounded on both sides and mingled their dread clan-

[a] Southey, who has given a brief account of the first of these engagements (I. 172), from Lyttelton's Life of King Henry the Second, erroneously supposes it to have occurred after Richard's arrival.

Sea-fights in 1190.

gour. First they contended with missiles. But our men, invoking the Divine aid, more earnestly plied their oars, and pierced the enemy's ships with the beaks of their own. Soon the battle became general; the oars were entangled; they fought hand to hand; they grappled the ships with alternate casts, and set the decks[a] on fire with the burning oil commonly called the Greek fire. This fire, with a deadly stench and livid flames, consumes flint and iron; and, unquenchable by water, can only be extinguished by sand or vinegar. What more direful than a naval conflict? What more fatal, where so various a fate involves the combatants? for they are either burnt and writhe in the flames, shipwrecked and are swallowed by the waves, or wounded and they perish by arms! There was one galley which, through the rashness of our men, turned its side close to the enemy; and thus, ignited by the fire thrown on board, admitted the Turks, who rushed in on all parts. The rowers seized with terror leapt into the sea; but a few soldiers, who from their heavier arms and ignorance of swimming remained through desperation, took courage to fight. An unequal battle raged; but, by the Lord's help, the few overcame the many, and retook the half-burned ship from the beaten foe.

"But another was boarded by the enemy, who had gained the upper deck,[a] having driven off its defenders: those, however, to whom the lower station had been assigned, strove to escape by the aid of the rowers. A wonderful, truly, and a piteous struggle! for the oars tending in different directions, by the

[a] "Tabulata."

impulse of the Turks, the galley was urged hither and thither. Our men, however, prevailed; and the enemy rowing above were thrust off by the Christians, and yielded. In this naval conflict the adverse side lost both a galley and a galliass with their crews; and our men, unhurt and rejoicing, achieved a glorious and solemn triumph. Drawing the hostile galley with them to the shore, the victors exposed it to be destroyed by our people of both sexes who met it by land. Then our women seized and dragged the Turks by their hair, beheaded them, treating them with every indignity, and savagely stabbing them; and, the weaker their hands, so much the more protracted were the pains of death to the vanquished, for they cut off their heads, not with swords, but knives. No similar sea-fight so fatal had ever been seen, no victory achieved with so much peril and loss." [a] Sea-fights in 1190.

The other engagement is of greater interest, as it shows the manner in which galleys were employed in attacking fortresses:

"Meanwhile the Pisans, and others skilled in naval tactics, to whom the siege of the town by sea was committed, erected a machine upon the galleys in the form of a castle with bulwarks, so that it might overtop the walls, and afford an easy means of throwing darts. Moreover, they made two ladders with steps, by which the summit of the walls might be gained. They then covered all those things and the galleys with extended hides, that they might be protected from injury, either from iron, or any missile whatsoever. All being prepared, the besiegers approached the 'Tower of the

[a] Vinesauf, p. 273, *et seq.*

Sea-fights in 1190.

Flies,' which they attacked furiously with the discharge of cross-bow and darts. Those within manfully resisted them, with neither unequal strength nor success; for, when our men slew any of them, they delayed not to retaliate. And in order the more heavily to crush them, or drive them off the more easily, about two thousand Turks went out of the city to the galleys, to aid the besieged in the tower, while they harassed the Pisans on the opposite side. But, our chosen warriors having advanced their engines as commodiously as they could to the tower, some began to throw great anchors at the tower, and whatsoever came to their hands, wood, or masses of stone, or showers of darts; others, as they were disposed, were not slow to carry on a naval conflict with those at sea. The shields[a] yielded to the anchors thrown against the tower, and were broken up. The tower indeed was assailed with wonderful and insupportable fury; one party succeeding another, when fatigued, with untiring energy and invincible valour. The darts flew about with a fearful noise, and larger missiles were hurled through the air. The Turks yielded in time, for they could no longer sustain the fight. And now, having raised the ladders for scaling the tower, our men hastened to ascend; but the Turks, perceiving that the crisis was at hand, with great valour made all resistance, and threw down masses of stones of large size upon our people, to crush and throw them off the ladders. Afterwards they cast Greek fire upon the castle we had erected, which was set in flames; and those within it, perceiving this, were compelled with disappointed hopes to de-

[a] "Ancilia."

scend and retire. But meantime there was a countless slaughter of the Turks who opposed our men by sea; and, although at the tower a part of our people was unsuccessful, those at sea committed great havoc on the Turks. At last the engines, together with the castle, the galleys, and all within, and the ladders that had been raised, being consumed by the devouring fire, the Turks, abandoning themselves to rejoicing, with loud yells mocked at our discomfiture, shaking their heads,[a] whereat the Christians were beyond measure incensed, being no less stung by their insulting taunts than by the misfortune they had suffered."[b] Sea-fights in 1190.

Very few notices have been found respecting the cost of ships at this period. About 1197, the sum of £12 15*s.* 2½*d.* was paid by the King for repairing the Bishop of Durham's "great ship," on the testimony of four persons that it was properly demanded; to which were added £10 for the expense of sending her (apparently from Stockton-on-Tees) to London; and 13*s.* 4*d.* to Robert de Stockton, her master, for his services.[c] Cost of ships.

The pay of the crews of Richard's fleet is nowhere stated; but it probably differed little from that of the galley-men and mariners of his immediate successors, which is accurately known.[d] Only a few names of the ships are mentioned; but that of the King's favourite galley, "Trench-the-mer,"[e] was singularly appropriate to a swift and dashing craft. There is some reason for supposing that the King's galley gave her name Wages of seamen. King Richard's galley.

[a] "Movcntes capita sua, subsannabant."

[b] Vinesauf, p. 287.

[c] Mag. Rot. Pip. 8 Ric. I. Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, i. 714.

[d] See a subsequent page.

[e] "The Kynges owen galeie, he cald it Trenc the mere." Peter of Langtoft; ed. 1810, vol. i. p. 270.

Captain of King Richard's galley.

to her commander, if not also to her crew, and that those belonging to her were called "Trench-themeres;" as at the present day the men belonging to ships are styled, from their vessels' names, "Triton's," "Caledonia's," "Canopus'."

As soon as Richard had concluded the treaty for his release from imprisonment, he sent to England for Alan Trenchemer, the commander of his ship;[a] and the King is stated to have embarked on board that person's galley at Antwerp, for this country, in March 1194.[b] The name of Alan Trenchemer, as well as of Walter Trenchemer,[c] often occurs in records; whence it appears that Alan held lands in Surrey and Suffolk, that one of his servants had been accused of murder, and that he himself was living, and actively employed, in the reign of King John.[d] On the other hand, it is not impossible that the name was derived from Alan Trenchemer's celebrity as a mariner,[e] and that the appellation of the King's galley was taken from that of her captain. Under any circumstances, however, the name of a distinguished seaman, who commanded the vessel which brought Cœur de Lion back to his dominions after the glories of Palestine and his long captivity, even if he were not, as is highly probable, the captain of his galley in the celebrated engagement with a Turkish ship,[f] is deserving of commemoration.

[a] Hoveden, 412.

[b] Vide *post.*

[c] Rot. Curiæ Regis; 6 Ric. I. vol. i. p. 132.

[d] Ibid. 10 Ric. I. vol. i. p. 208; 1 John, vol. ii. pp. 184, 243; Rot. Canc. 3 John, pp. 28, 31, 328; Rot. Norman. 5 John, ed. Hardy, vol. i. p. 118.— His descendants seem to have followed the profession of their ancestor. In the reign of Henry the Fifth, a John Trenchmere commanded a crayer of Yarmouth, called the Thomas. Rot. Norman. vol. i. p. 325.

[e] The name of Trenchevent, which occurs at the same period, seems to have designated a fleet runner.

[f] Vide *post.*

Though not expressly mentioned, it may safely be inferred that the banner of Saint George, a narrow white flag, with a red cross, under which so many glorious victories have been gained, and which is still the representative of England in the National flag,[a] was first introduced by King Richard; and as it is certain that the armorial ensigns of this country, "Gules, three lions passant gardant Or," were adopted by him, a banner with the lions, and another with the red cross, no doubt floated from his galleys. When, and from what cause, the banner was appropriated to Saint George, is unknown; but its charge, no doubt, represented the sacred emblem of salvation; while the chivalrous character of Richard accounts for his having chosen the great patron of soldiers for his "avowry" or tutelary saint, and for the banner of that saint having become the ensign of England. Banner of England,

Every great institution is strikingly elucidated by the laws which have been from time to time made for its government; and no stronger evidence could exist of the importance which the Navy had attained, than the ordinances that were made by Richard the First respecting its discipline, and for the regulation of maritime commerce in his continental dominions.

Having prepared a large fleet for the Holy Land in 1189, he placed it under the command of Gerard Archbishop of Aix, Bernard Bishop of Bayonne, Robert de Sabloil, Richard de Camville, and William de Fortz, of Oleron, who were styled "ductores et gubernatores totius navigii Regis," but who in other places are called "justiciarii navigii Regis," and Commanders of the English fleet, 1189.

[a] Some remarks on the National colours will be found among the Notes to this work.

Commanders of the English fleet, 1189.

"ductores et constabularii navigii Regis."[a] The selection of two prelates to assist in the command of a fleet ceases to excite surprise, when the religious object of the expedition is remembered. It is not probable that the bishops were intended to interfere in naval matters, but merely to assist their colleagues with their advice on subjects of a general nature. Of the family or history of Robert de Sabloil, whose name repeatedly occurs, but who does not appear to have been an Englishman, no particulars have been discovered. De Fortz was evidently a native of the Isle of Oleron, and was probably a skilful seaman. Richard de Camville was an English baron, who founded Combe Abbey in Warwickshire, and whose descendants existed for several centuries. He was then advanced in life; and instead of remaining joint governor of Cyprus, to which office the King had appointed him, he went without leave to Acre, and there died.[b] Another distinguished person in Richard's fleet was Sir Stephen de Turnham, who commanded the ship in which Richard's sister, the dowager Queen Joan of Sicily, and his affianced bride the fair Berengaria of Navarre, sailed from Messina to the Holy Land. This gallant knight was a younger brother of the baron Sir Robert de Turnham, who had large possessions in Kent, who led a division of the galleys with which Richard scoured the coast of Cyprus,[c] and who was appointed governor of that island. In the reign of Henry the Second, Sir Stephen de Turnham had been seneschal of Anjou, and acquired much fame by capturing some castles from the French,

[a] Hoveden, 373.
[b] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 627.
[c] Vide, *post*.

and attacking the city of Maine. He returned from the crusade, and, having survived his royal master, died several years after, without posterity.[a]

About the year 1190, when King Richard was at Chinon on his way to Marseilles, he issued the following ordinance, which is remarkable for being the earliest "articles of war" for the government of an English fleet. If any man slew another on board a ship, he was to be fastened to the dead body, and thrown with it into the sea: if the murder were committed on shore, he was to be bound to the corpse, and buried with it. If any one were convicted by legal testimony of drawing his knife upon another, or of drawing blood in any manner, he was to lose his hand. For giving a blow with the hand, without producing blood, the offender was to be plunged three times into the sea. If any one reviled or insulted another, he was on every occasion to pay to the offended party an ounce of silver. A thief was to have his head shaven, boiling pitch poured upon it, and feathers shaken over him, as a mark by which he might be known; and he was to be turned ashore at the first land at which the ship might touch.[b] By another ordinance, every person was strictly required to be obedient to the commanders or justices of the fleet; and as they regarded themselves, and their return to their own countries, they were enjoined faithfully to observe these regulations.[c] Naval "Articles of War."

It is singular that no penalty should have been provided for disobedience of orders, nor for any

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, I. pp. 662—3.

[b] Benedict. Abbas, I. 589. Hoveden, 373[b]; Bromton, 1174.

[c] Ibid.

Naval "Articles of War."

offence against discipline; but the principal object seems to have been to prevent quarrels, and to render property secure. The punishment of ducking—perhaps keel-hauling,—and of tarring and feathering, are thus proved to have been very ancient; and, however severe may be the present military law, it is satisfactory to know that it has lost some part, at least, of its original barbarity. The immense fine imposed for irritating speeches shows both the importance which was attached to so inevitable a cause of discord, and the wealth of the crusaders.

A. D. 1190. On the 8th of October, the Kings of England and France solemnly swore to maintain good faith each to the other during the crusade, and their respective nobles also vowed to observe that compact. The two monarchs, with the consent of their council, then adopted the following regulations for their armies.

If any one died during the pilgrimage, he might dispose of all his arms, horses, and apparel, at his pleasure; and likewise of the moiety of the effects he had with him, provided nothing was sent back to his own country. The other moiety was to be given to the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Langres, and the Master of the Templars, and the Master of the Hospitallers, Hugh Duke of Burgundy, and other personages, who were to expend the money in the recovery of the Holy Land. No one in the whole army was to play at any kind of game for gain, except the knights and clerks: but they were not permitted to lose more than twenty shillings in any one day and night; and none of the knights and clerks was to play for a greater sum, on the penalty of one hundred shillings. The two Kings might, however,

play as they thought proper. The royal servants, and those of the higher nobility, were to be allowed to play to the amount of twenty shillings. If any servants, mariners, or others, should be found gambling by themselves, the servants were to be flogged naked through the army for three days; and the mariners were to be plunged from the ship into the sea every morning, "after the manner of seamen," for three days;[a] unless they could redeem themselves by fine. If a pilgrim borrowed anything after he had commenced his journey, he was to repay it; but he was not to be responsible for what he might have previously received. If a hired mariner or serving-man, or any one soever, except clerks and knights, should quit his lord during the expedition, no one else was to receive him, except with the consent of his lord; and, if any one received him without the approbation of such lord, he was to be punished. If any one attempted aught against those regulations, he was liable to be excommunicated by the archbishop and bishops of the whole army. All other transgressors were to be punished according to their several conditions, by the judgment of the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Langres, the Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, and the other persons before alluded to.[b]

Naval "Articles of War."

By a charter dated at Messina in October of the same year, Richard, "for the love of God, and the health of his own soul, and the souls of his ancestors and successors, Kings of England," made an important alteration in the law of wreck. After

Law of wreck mitigated.

[a] "Marinarii vero si luserint, tribus diebus à summo navis in mari demergantur more marinariorum semel in die."

[b] Bromton, 1182; Hoveden, 384[b]; Benedict Abbas, II. 609.

declaring that he relinquished all claim to wreck throughout his dominions, it was enacted that every shipwrecked person who might come to land alive should retain all his goods. That if any one died in the ship, his sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, as they might be his heirs, should have his property; but, if he had no such relations, the King should have his chattels.[a] On the 27th of March 1191, a few days before Richard left Messina for Palestine, he granted a charter of additional privileges to the inhabitants of Rye and Winchelsea.[b] After reciting that he had already granted that they should be free, throughout his dominions on both sides of the sea, from all "toll, lastage, tallage, passage, quayage, rivage, pontage;" from all wreck, from "rocats," and from all customs; he then granted that they should have "invenciones" in land and sea, and that they be quit of all their things and of all their market as "our free men." The King further commanded that no one should disturb them or their goods upon forfeiture of ten pounds, and that they should be quit of shires and hundreds; and if any one would plead against them, they should neither answer nor plead otherwise than as the Barons of Hastings and of the Cinque Ports plead, and in the time of Henry our father used to plead. For these concessions they were to find for the King's full service two ships, to make up the number of twenty ships for Hastings.[c]

A.D. 1191.

Charter to two of the Cinque Ports.

Portsmouth appears to have become about this time an important sea-port; and being visited by

Ports-mouth.

[a] Hoveden, 386[b]; Benedict. Abbas, II. 622: Prynne (Animadversions, p. 107), who says, however, that this law was made after Richard's return from the Holy Land.

[b] Fœdera, vol. I. p. 53.

[c] Ibid.

King Richard in May 1194, when he was preparing an expedition against France, he granted it a charter, which stated, that he had retained his borough of Portsmouth in his own hands; that he had established there a weekly market and biennial fair, to which all his subjects of England, Normandy, Poitou, Wales, and Scotland might freely come; and that the inhabitants should have and enjoy the same rights and privileges as the citizens of Winchester or Oxford, or any others in his dominions.[a]

A law relating to the Navy is said to have been made by Richard the First, about the beginning of his reign, by the advice of many lords of the realm, at Grimsby in Lincolnshire. If the admiral, by the King's command, arrested any ships for the King's service, and he or his lieutenant certified the arrest, or returned a list of the ships arrested, into Chancery, neither the master nor owner of the said vessels should plead against the return that the admiral and his lieutenant are of record. And if any vessel broke the arrest, and the master or owner were indicted and convicted by a jury, the ship should be confiscated to the King.[b]

Ships arrested not to sail.

The most memorable of King Richard's marine laws was, however, the code known to all jurists as the "Laws of Oleron." Though this code is ascribed to Richard, great part of it had been enacted by his mother Queen Eleanor, under the title of the "Roll of Oleron;"[c] and it is singular that the precise date

Laws of Oleron.

[a] Fœdera, I. 63.

[b] Prynne's Animadversions, p. 108; who cites the Black Book of the Admiralty, f. 28, 29, 157, 158. See, however, p. 73, *ante*.

[c] "A genuine Treatise on the Dominion of the Sea, and a compleat body of the Sea Laws," 4to. 2nd ed. (no date).

Laws of Oleron.

of so celebrated an ordinance should not be known. It is generally said,[a] that Richard being in the isle of Oleron on his return from the Holy Land, he there promulgated these laws: but there is no evidence that he ever went to Oleron; and, though he may have confirmed and improved the code, it is more likely that it retained its former title, than that a new name should have been given to it from the supposed place of its confirmation.

The Laws of Oleron consist of forty-seven articles, and though evidently intended only for Richard's continental dominions and for merchant-vessels, it is nevertheless desirable to notice briefly some of the more curious provisions.

By the first article, if a vessel arrived at Bordeaux, Rouen, or any other similar place, and was there freighted for Scotland, or any other foreign country, and was in want of stores or provisions, the master was not permitted to sell the vessel, but he might with the advice of his crew raise money by pledging any part of her tackle or furniture. If a vessel was wind or weather bound, the master, when a change occurred, was to consult his crew, saying to them, "Gentlemen, what think you of this wind?" and to be guided by the majority whether he should put to sea. If he did not do this, and any misfortune happened, he was to make good the damage. If a seaman sustained any hurt through drunkenness or quarrelling, the master was not bound to provide for his cure, but might turn him out of his ship; if, however, the injury occurred in the service of the ship, he was to be

[a] Selden's Mare Clausum, lib. II. cap. xxiv. Selden says that the Laws of Oleron are assigned by some writers to Henry the Third.

cured at the cost of the said ship. A sick sailor was to be sent on shore, and a lodging, candles, and one of the ship's boys, or a nurse, provided for him, with the same allowance of provisions as he would have received on board. In case of danger in a storm, the master might, with the consent of the merchants on board, lighten the ship by throwing part of the cargo overboard; and if they did not consent, or objected to his doing so, he was not to risk the vessel, but to act as he thought proper: on their arrival in port, he and the third part of the crew were to make oath that it was done for the preservation of the vessel; and the loss was to be borne equally by the merchants. A similar proceeding was to be adopted before the mast or cables were cut away. Before goods were shipped, the master was to satisfy the merchants of the strength of his ropes and slings; but if he did not do so, or they requested him to repair them, and a cask was stove, the master was to make it good. In cases of difference between a master and one of his crew, the man was to be denied his mess allowance thrice before he was turned out of the ship, or discharged; and if the man offered reasonable satisfaction in the presence of the crew, and the master persisted in discharging him, the sailor might follow the ship to her place of destination, and demand the same wages as if he had not been sent ashore. In case of collision by a ship under sail running on board one at anchor, owing to bad steering, if the former were damaged, the cost was to be equally divided; the master and crew of the latter making oath that the collision was accidental. The reason for this law was, it is said, "that an old decayed vessel might not

Laws of Oleron.

Laws of Oleron.

purposely be put in the way of a better." It was specially provided that all anchors ought to be indicated by buoys or "anchor-marks." Mariners of Brittany were entitled only to one meal a day, because they had beverage going and coming; but those of Normandy were to have two meals, because they had only water at the ship's allowance. As soon as the ship arrived in a wine country, the master was, however, to procure them wine. Several regulations occur respecting the seamen's wages, which show that they were sometimes paid by a share of the freight. On arriving at Bordeaux, or any other place, two of the crew might go on shore and take with them one meal of such victuals as were on board, and a proportion of bread, but no drink; and they were to return in sufficient time to prevent their master losing the tide. If a pilot from ignorance or otherwise failed to conduct a ship in safety, and the merchants sustained any damage, he was to make full satisfaction if he had the means; if not, he was to lose his head; and, if the master or any one of his mariners cut off his head, they were not bound to answer for it; but, before they had recourse to so strong a measure, "they must be sure he had not wherewith to make satisfaction." Two articles of the code prove, that from "an accursed custom" in some places, by which the third or fourth part of ships that were lost belonged to the lord of the place, the pilots, to ingratiate themselves with these nobles, "like faithless and treacherous villains," purposely ran the vessels on the rocks. It was therefore enacted that the said lords, and all others assisting in plundering the wreck, shall be accursed and ex-

communicated, and punished as robbers and thieves; that "all false and treacherous pilots should suffer a most rigorous and merciless death," and be suspended to high gibbets near the spot, which gibbets were to remain as an example in succeeding ages. The barbarous lords were to be tied to a post in the middle of their own houses, and, being set on fire at the four corners, all were to be burnt together; the walls demolished, its site converted into a market-place for the sale only of hogs and swine, and all their goods were to be confiscated to the use of the aggrieved parties. Such of the cargoes as floated ashore were to be taken care of for a year or more; and, if not then claimed, they were to be sold by the lord, and the proceeds distributed among the poor, in marriage portions to poor maids, and other charitable uses. If, as often happened, "people more barbarous, cruel, and inhuman than mad dogs," murdered shipwrecked persons, they were to be plunged into the sea till they were half-dead, and then drawn out and stoned to death."

[a] "Sea Laws," before quoted; where the Laws of Oleron are printed (as well as in many other places), with a learned commentary.

CHAPTER V.

NAVAL PROCEEDINGS FROM 1087 TO 1199.—ANECDOTE OF WILLIAM RUFUS.—PREPARATIONS OF HENRY THE FIRST TO RESIST THE INVASION OF ENGLAND.—SHIPWRECK OF PRINCE WILLIAM.—HENRY THE SECOND'S EXPEDITION TO IRELAND.—FALL OF JERUSALEM.—THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TAKE THE CROSS.—RICHARD THE FIRST'S EXPEDITION TO THE HOLY LAND.—THE FLEET SAILS FROM DARTMOUTH, BUT IS FORCED INTO LISBON; THEN PROCEEDS TO MARSEILLES, AND THENCE TO MESSINA.—RICHARD'S VOYAGE FROM MARSEILLES TO MESSINA, WHERE HE MET THE FLEET.—ARRIVAL OF BERENGARIA OF NAVARRE.—RICHARD SAILS FOR PALESTINE.—HIS FLEET DISPERSED BY A STORM.—ARRIVES AT CYPRUS.—DEFEATS THE EMPEROR ISAAC, AND CONQUERS CYPRUS.—SAILS FOR ACRE.—ATTACKS AND TAKES A TURKISH DROMON.—ARRIVES AT ACRE.—RETURNS TO EUROPE, AND IS MADE PRISONER.—ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION TO FRANCE.

A. D. 1087 to 1100.

FEW events of a maritime character occurred in the reign of WILLIAM RUFUS. His ships were employed, in the early part of his reign, against his eldest brother Robert Duke of Normandy, who made several efforts to obtain the crown; and it is said that they captured many of the Norman vessels, and slew great part of their crews.[a]

In 1089, the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury made a descent on the island of Anglesea and plundered the inhabitants; but the Normans were sud-

[a] Hoveden, 264[b]; Bromton, 986. It is remarkable that both these writers should call the English ships "piratæ." Hoveden says, William "jam mare munierat suis *piratis*, qui venientes in Angliam tot occiderunt et in mare merserunt," &c. Bromton's words are, "Anglici vero *piratæ* qui curam maris a rege susceperant," &c. From these passages Campbell (I. 101) erroneously infers that Rufus "permitted the English to fit out ships of force to act against his enemies."

denly attacked by Magnus, a Norwegian adventurer, and the crews of his ships, who slew the Earl of Shrewsbury, and carried off the booty which he and his followers had collected.[a]

About August 1091, when William was returning from Normandy, intelligence was brought to him that Malcolm, King of Scots, had invaded England. He immediately raised a large fleet and army, and proceeded towards Scotland; but a storm arose while Sept. 1091. the ships were on their passage, in which the greater part of them was wrecked, and most of his soldiers perished from cold and hunger.[b]

An anecdote is related of Rufus which shows his indomitable spirit, and which, but from its resemblance to the exclamation of Cæsar, would be entitled to similar immortality. In 1099, while hunting, a messenger from Normandy brought him intelligence that the city of Mans was besieged. Without dismounting from his horse, he hastened to the nearest sea-port; and, on being reminded that it was necessary to collect troops, he said, "I shall see who will follow me; and, if I understand the youth of this kingdom, I shall have people enough." Though it was almost a storm, and the wind contrary, he insisted on embarking immediately; and when the sailors pointed out the danger of putting to sea, and entreated him to wait for more favourable weather, he exclaimed, "I never heard of a King that was shipwrecked; weigh anchor, and you will see that the winds will be with us." The superstitious historians, who have written a homily on this speech,[c] perceive in the fate

[a] Saxon Chronicle, ed. Ingram, p. 317.

[b] Bromton, 987; Hoveden, 265.

[c] William of Malmesbury, II. 502; Alured of Beverley, lib. IX.

of his nephew, Prince Henry, the punishment of his presumption.

A. D. 1101. The immediate danger of invasion with which England was threatened, on the accession of HENRY THE FIRST, by his brother Robert Duke of Normandy, who had collected a fleet at Treport, caused orders to be issued to the butescarls on the coast, not to allow any persons to land, and for the ships to be prepared to act against the enemy.[a] As soon as Robert was known to have sailed, Henry sent his fleet to sea, but many of them joined the invader; and, while the King awaited him at Pevensey, the Duke of Nor-
July 1101. mandy landed at Portsmouth. Hostilities were however prevented by an amicable arrangement, and Robert returned to Normandy.[b] Many years elapsed without any other occurrence of a maritime nature than the passing and repassing of the King between England and Normandy, except that "Hardinge of England" was one of the Christians who arrived at Joppa with two hundred ships during the siege of Jerusalem, in July 1107, when the Saracens struck their tents and retired.[c]

A. D. 1120. In 1120 a tragical event occurred which has no parallel in English history. After residing for a considerable period in Normandy, Henry determined to return with all his family to England; and in November ships were assembled for the purpose at Barfleur. One of the finest of these vessels, called—probably

[a] Florence of Worcester, p. 650; Hoveden, p. 268. Selden says, the "Butescarles" were officers belonging to the navy, or sea-soldiers: and he has endeavoured to show that it was their duty to guard the sea itself, and not merely to defend the coasts on shore. Mare Clausum, lib. II. c. xiv.

[b] Saxon Chronicle, Ingram, p. 322; Hoveden, 268; Bromton, 998.

[c] *Chron. Hieron. lib. IX. c. xi. p. 200.*

from her colour—"La Blanche Nef," and having fifty oars, was commanded by Thomas Fitz-Stephen, who, addressing the King and offering him a mark of gold, said that he was the grandson of the Stephen[a] who had steered the ship in which the King's father embarked for the conquest of England, and he therefore entreated to be allowed to convey the King on this occasion. Henry told him that he had already chosen another ship; but that he would entrust his sons and daughter to his care. A. D. 1120. November.

The young Prince William, Henry's only legitimate son, who was then seventeen years of age, and had been lately married to a daughter of the Count of Anjou, embarked in "La Blanche Nef," together with his natural brother Richard, and his natural sister Mary Countess of Perche, Richard Earl of Chester, and his wife the King's niece, and the flower of the young nobility of England and Normandy, to the number it is said of one hundred and forty, of whom eighteen were ladies of the highest rank; making, with their retinues and the crew, about three hundred persons. If, however, it be meant that they all embarked in the same ship, the number must have been greatly overrated, for it is exceedingly doubtful if any vessel of the period was capable of holding so many persons.

The King's ship having sailed, La Blanche Nef prepared to follow; but, before it weighed, the crew were imprudently treated with wine by her illustrious passengers, and it was rather late in the evening before she put to sea. Steered by Fitz-Stephen, and with a fine moonlight, the mariners pulled vigorously along the coast, hoping to overtake the King, when

[a] Vide p. 62, *ante*.

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A. D. 1120. November. they found themselves amidst some sunken rocks in the Ras de Catteville. Before her speed could be slackened, the unfortunate White Ship struck violently on a rock, and her larboard side was instantly stove in. A piercing cry was uttered, which is said to have been heard on board of the King's ship; but, little suspecting the cause, it was unheeded. The crowded state of the vessel, and perhaps the inebriated condition of the crew, rendered their efforts useless. The sea rushed in, and she foundered with all on board except two men. As soon as his ship struck, the Prince and a few others got into a boat, pushed off, and might have escaped; but, unable to resist the piteous shrieks of his sister, he commanded the boat to return and take her on board, when, numerous persons jumping in, it overset and they all perished. Owing, perhaps, to the rapidity of the current, every effort to recover the Prince's body failed. The only two survivors, Godfrey son of Gilbert de l'Aigle, and a butcher of Rouen called Berauld, saved themselves by clinging to the yard; but, owing to the coldness of the night, Godfrey became exhausted, and losing his grasp, commended his companion to God, and sunk. Berauld was picked up the next morning by a fisherman, and stated that Fitz-Stephen the captain, to whom the catastrophe may be attributed, expiated his error with Roman devotion. After sinking once, he rose to the surface, and asked the men who were clinging to the yard, "What has become of the King's son?" Being told, "We have not seen him, nor his brother, nor his sister, nor any of their companions;" he exclaimed, "Woe is me!" and voluntarily abandoned himself to their fate. If the old writers are to be credited, when the courtiers

ventured after three days to break the news to Henry, he was so heart-stricken that he fainted away, and was never seen to smile again.[a]

Henry the First died in December 1135; and the reign of his nephew and successor, STEPHEN, was unmarked by any naval event of importance. In 1137 he successfully invaded Normandy with an army and a fleet,[b] and, in July 1141, the Empress Maud, and her natural brother Robert Earl of Gloucester, landed at Portsmouth, to assert the right of her son to the crown.[c] A. D. 1137.

HENRY THE SECOND ascended the throne on the death of Stephen in December 1154; but it was not until England was menaced with invasion by the Counts of Boulogne and Flanders in 1167, whose fleet was said[d] to consist of six hundred ships, that much attention was given to maritime affairs. The King was then abroad, engaged in a war with France; but Richard de Lucy, the justiciary, collected so large a military force on the coast that the attempt was abandoned, and Henry purchased the Count of Boulogne's alliance by an annual pension.[e] Early in March 1170, while the King was crossing the Channel from Normandy, so great a storm arose in the middle of the night that his fleet was dispersed and much damaged. With great difficulty Henry's ship reached Portsmouth; but one of the others, in which his physician, and Henry de Agnellis, a distinguished baron, with his two sons, and some other persons of the royal household, had embarked, foundered. It is said, that the passengers and crew amounted to four A. D. 1154. A. D 1170. March

[a] William of Malmesbury, II. 653. Ord. Vital. p. 867—869; Simeon of Durham, p. 242; Bromton, 1012.
[b] Bromton, 1026.
[c] Ibid. 1029.
[d] "ut fama fuit."
[e] Gervas. Cant. 1402.

hundred;[a] but this statement was either one of the usual exaggerations of chroniclers whenever they mention numbers, or the ships of the twelfth century were at least four times larger than they are supposed to have been.

No event of Henry the Second's reign was so memorable as the subjection of Ireland to the crown of England. Though that design had long occupied his mind, and though he had obtained the sanction of the Pope, many circumstances prevented his taking measures for that purpose for some years. In May 1169, Robert Fitz-Stephen, a powerful English baron, landed at Wexford with a small force, and was followed by other private adventurers; among whom, in August 1170, though expressly forbidden by his sovereign, was Richard Striguil, Earl of Pembroke. The King, highly displeased with Pembroke, recalled him, and all his subjects, on pain of confiscation of their lands.[b] In the mean time, Henry resolved to proceed to Ireland in person; and the Earl of Pembroke having returned, and made his peace with the King, a large army and fleet were collected at Milford Haven for the expedition.

Four hundred large ships were prepared for the conveyance of the troops; and on the 18th of October, the feast of St. Luke, 1171, the King landed near Waterford, whence he went to Dublin.[c] Henry returned to England in 1172, and soon after went to Normandy, in consequence of the rebellion of his sons.[d]

[a] Bromton, 1060; Hoveden, 296[b]; Gervas. Cant. 1410, who says, five ships were lost. Southey, I. 144, expresses no doubt as to the number of persons on board, and observes that the size of the largest vessels is thus ascertained.

[b] Lyttelton, IV. 73.

[c] Hoveden, 301[b]; Bromton, 1079.

[d] Hoveden, 303[b]; Bromton, 1079.

When the French monarch, who had confederated with Henry's sons, heard of his arrival at Barfleur, he was so surprised at the rapidity of his movements, that he exclaimed, "This Prince, now in Ireland, now in England, and now in Normandy, must be rather supposed to fly, than ride or sail."[a] The King embarked for England at Barfleur, on the 8th of July 1174, attended by a small fleet. Perceiving some alarm in the countenances of the crew at the tempestuous state of the weather, he is reported to have said, "If the Supreme Ruler designs by my arrival in England to restore to my people that peace which He knows I sincerely have at heart, may He mercifully bring me to a safe port; but, if His will has decreed to scourge the realm, may I never be permitted to reach its shore!"[b] The pious frame of mind which dictated this remark was shown, soon after he landed, by his well-known pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas à Becket. In the autumn of the same year he went again to Normandy, and returned in May 1175.[c] The greater part of the shipping of England and Normandy was assembled at Portsmouth and Southampton, in May 1177, to transport an army to Barfleur; but, in consequence of information from Normandy, the King dismissed his troops, and the ships separated.[d]

A. D. 1173.

A. D. 1174. July.

A. D. 1175. May.

A. D. 1177. May.

In 1187 the Christian world was struck with horror by Jerusalem having fallen into the hands of the infidels. The Kings of France and England, and other princes, resolved to take the cross; but, before their preparations were completed, the two monarchs quar-

A. D. 1187.

[a] Diceto, Imag. Hist. 560.
[b] Hoveden, 308; Bromton, 1095; Benedict. Abbas, i. 82.
[c] Bromton, 1100-1; Hoveden, 310.
[d] Benedict. Abbas, i. 212, 213.

relled, and, instead of proceeding to the Holy Land, Henry was obliged to defend his continental dominions against his son Richard, who had allied himself with the French King. The success of his enemy, combined with the unnatural conduct of his sons, subdued the spirit and shortened the days of Henry, who expired at Chinon in Normandy, on the 6th of July 1189.

KING RICHARD THE FIRST had taken the cross before his accession; and soon after that event he agreed with Philip of France that they should proceed together to the Holy Land, and rescue Jerusalem from the infidels. Great preparations were made throughout England to provide a fleet and an army for the purpose; and, at the beginning of De-
A. D. 1189. cember 1189, numerous ships were assembled at Dover from all parts of England to convey the King and his followers across the Channel. On the 11th of that month, Richard embarked for Calais; and, having kept his Christmas at Bures in Normandy, he joined the French monarch at Rheims, where, on the 13th
A. D. 1190. January. of January, they entered into a solemn treaty of friendship and assistance between themselves and their respective subjects.[a] Richard soon after went into Gascony, and having taken the castle of William le Chisi, whom he hung for plundering some pilgrims of St. James when passing through his lands, he proceeded to Chinon in Anjou, and there appointed "justices" or admirals, and issued the regulations for the government of his fleet which have been already mentioned. He then went to Tours,

[a] Bromton, 1170; Hoveden, 378; Benedict. Abbas, II. 583.

where he received from the archbishop the scrip and staff of his pilgrimage, and joined the King of France in the plains of Vezelay, about the 22nd of June.[a] After resting at that place two days, the allied armies marched as far as Lyons, where they separated. Philip conducted his forces to Genoa; while Richard proceeded towards Marseilles, intending to embark at that port for Messina, which was the appointed rendezvous for both armies before sailing for Palestine.[b] A. D. 1190. June.

In the mean time a fleet had been collected at Dartmouth from all parts of England, Normandy, Poitou, Brittany, and Aquitaine, in which such of the crusaders as had not accompanied the King by land, and the engines, stores, and other materiel for the army, were embarked.[c] These ships were to join Richard at Marseilles; and the fact is deserving of particular attention, because it is the earliest evidence yet discovered of English vessels having been sent on so distant a voyage. Part, if not all of the ships, sailed from Dartmouth towards the end of April 1190; but, owing probably to the unfitness of vessels so constructed and rigged to pass the Atlantic ocean, many disasters befel them. For five days the wind continued fair; but on Ascension-day, the 3rd of May, before they had crossed the Bay of Biscay, it changed, and blew so violently that the ships were dispersed. To one of these vessels, which belonged to London and contained a hundred passengers,[d] a special miracle was vouchsafed. The terrified crew having invoked the April. May.

[a] Hoveden, 373b.

[b] Bromton, 1170; Hoveden, 373b.

[c] Ibid.—Peter of Langtoft says, "Thei had in ther route a hundreth shippes and ten, But God thei had no doubte, ne no defaute of men."

[d] One of the passengers was William Fitz-Osbert, who is supposed to have been the citizen of London,

A. D. 1190. Divine aid, St. Thomas of Canterbury thrice appeared, and assured them that he, and the martyrs St. Edmond and St. Nicholas,[a] were appointed protectors of their ship, and would conduct it in safety, provided they repented of their sins and did penance. Such easy terms being gladly accepted, the saint vanished, when the tempest instantly ceased; and the vessel, passing Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, reached Sylves. That city had shortly before been taken from the Moors, but was then invested by the infidels, who were endeavouring to regain it. The reinforcement of eighty young and well-armed soldiers was too valuable to be lost; and, instead of assisting them to pursue their voyage, the inhabitants seized the English ship, broke it to pieces, and fortified the city with the timbers, promising that the King of Portugal would replace the vessel with another, and compensate them for their services.[b]

Of the scattered fleet, nine soon after arrived at Lisbon, where they were joined by sixty-three other large ships,[c] under Robert de Sabloil and Richard de Camville. The crews of these ships committed such disgraceful outrages on the inhabitants of Lisbon, that several tumults arose, and many persons were slain on both sides. On the last of these occasions, the

sometimes called "William with the long beard," so conspicuous in the City annals, and who was hanged at Tyburn in 1196. See Sir Francis Palgrave's Preface to the Rotuli Curiæ Regis, vol. i. pp. vii—xvii.

[a] The special guardian of seafaring men:

"The Bishop St. Nicholas, whos help is ay redie
To shipmen in alle cas, whan thei on him crie."
—Peter of Langtoft.

[b] Bromton, 1175; Hoveden, 380b, 381.

[c] "cum lxiij. magnis navibus de Storio." Bromton, 1177. Benedict. Abbas, II. 598, thus explains "Storium"—"idem est quod navigium."

King of Portugal caused the gates to be closed upon the English, when seven hundred of them were imprisoned until an arrangement was made with their commanders for the peace of the city.[a] On the 24th of July the English ships put to sea, and found at the mouth of the Tagus William de Fortz, with thirty-three sail. The whole fleet was then united, and consisted of one hundred and six large ships filled with soldiers, provisions, and stores of all kinds. After a favourable passage of twenty-eight days along the coast of Spain, the fleet reached Marseilles in safety on the 22nd of August; but, finding that the King had left that place, they remained eight days for repairs, and then sailed for Messina, which they entered on the 14th of September.[b]

A. D. 1190.

July.

August.

King Richard came to Marseilles about the end of July, and was greatly disappointed that his fleet had not arrived. After hourly expecting it for eight days, his patience was exhausted, and he hired ten large busses and twenty galleys to convey his followers and himself to Messina. On the 7th of August he embarked in a galley apparently called the "Pumbo,"[c] and his route is minutely traced by the annalists. Coasting along the shore he arrived at Genoa on the 13th of August, and had an interview with the King of France, who was ill in that city. Richard then sailed for Porto Fino, where he remained five days. While at this place, Philip sent to request Richard to lend him five galleys; but, being offered only three, he declined to accept them. On the 19th King Richard proceeded on his

[a] Bromton, 1177; Benedict. Abbas, II. 603.

[b] Ibid. 1179; Hoveden, 381—383.

[c] "in galea Pumbone;" Benedict. Abbas, II. 590. His editor, Hearne, absurdly suggests that Pumbo might mean *bum-boat!*

A.D. 1190, August. voyage. About the 20th he was at the port of Pisa, from which city the Archbishop of Rouen came to see him. On the 21st Richard passed the island of Gorgona; and on the 23rd came to Porto Baratto, whence, attended by some of his knights, he rode two leagues to Piombino, and was followed by his galleys. Instead of re-embarking in the Pumbo, he went on board the galley of Fulk Postranti,[a] but, the vessel having split her sail on the 25th, he returned to the Pumbo, and soon after entered the Tiber. The Cardinal Bishop of Ostia came from Rome to receive him; but, having ventured to assert a claim on the part of the Holy See to some money, Richard became angry, accused the Papal court of simony, and refused to go to Rome. He sailed on the 26th, and arrived at Naples on the 28th, where he visited some relics in the abbey
September. of St. Januarius, and on the 8th of September rode to Salerno. In the mean time the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph de Glanville, Chief Justice of England, who had accompanied the King to Marseilles, proceeded in their ships direct to the Holy Land.[b] Richard left Salerno[c] on the 13th of September, and rode to Scylla. An accident occurred to him on his journey, which had nearly deprived England of the glory with which the deeds of Cœur de Lion in Palestine have adorned her annals. Passing through a village near Mileto on the 22nd of September, attended by a single knight, he entered a

[a] Hoveden calls him Fulk Rustac; and Benedict. Abbas, "Rustranceri."

[b] Bromton, 1174, 1175; Hoveden, 374, 375; Benedict. Abbas, II. 593.

[c] Hoveden, Bromton, and Benedict. Abbas say, that Richard, having heard of the arrival of his ships at Messina, left Salerno on the 13th of September; but they all state that the ships did not reach Messina until the feast of the Holy Cross, *i. e.* the 14th of September.

house in which he had been told he should find a hawk, and attempted to take away the bird. The owner however resisted, and, being supported by several other peasants, the King was attacked with stones and sticks, and one of them drew his knife upon him. Richard, not wishing to injure so unworthy an assailant, struck him with the back of his sword, when it broke; and he was compelled to defend himself with stones until he took refuge in a neighbouring priory.[a] A. D. 1190.

The English fleet met their King at Scylla; and, crossing the Faro,[b] Richard entered the port of Messina with every attribute of power and majesty on the 23rd of September.[c] Vinesauf's[d] description of the scene is extremely animated: "As soon as the people heard of his arrival, they rushed in crowds to the shore to behold the glorious King of England, and at a distance saw the sea covered with innumerable galleys; and the sounds of trumpets from afar, with the sharper and shriller blasts of clarions, resounded in their ears; and they beheld the galleys rowing in order nearer to the land, adorned and furnished with all manner of arms, countless pennons floating in the wind, ensigns at the ends of the lances, the beaks of the galleys distinguished by various paintings, and glittering shields suspended to the prows. The sea appeared to boil with the multitude of the rowers; the clangour of their trumpets was deafening; the September.

[a] Hoveden, 383[b]; Bromton, 1179, 1180; Benedict. Abbas, II. 604.

[b] Bernard le Tresorier (ed. Guizot, p. 175) says, that Richard landed first at Palermo, and, learning that Philip was at Messina, went there to meet him; but there is little doubt that in this, as in many other of his statements, Bernard was mistaken.

[c] Bromton, 1180; Benedict. Abbas, II. 604.

[d] p. 307.

A. D. 1190. greatest joy was testified at the arrival of the various multitudes; when thus our magnificent King, attended by crowds of those who navigated the galleys, as if to see what was unknown to him, or to be beheld by those to whom he was unknown, stood on a prow more ornamented and higher than the others, and landing, displayed himself, elegantly adorned, to all who pressed to the shore to see him." Philip of France had arrived a few days before; and, while he greeted his royal ally with every ostensible mark of confidence, he is supposed to have been secretly envious of his magnificent appearance.

The late period of the year prevented Richard from proceeding immediately to the Holy Land; and the two Kings, with their respective followers, wintered at Messina. Richard's disputes with Tancred King of Sicily, respecting the claims of his sister Joan of England, widow of King William the Second, the quarrels that arose between the Sicilians and the English, and the displeasure and jealousy of the French monarch, do not belong to Naval history. Among
A. D. 1191. the articles demanded of Tancred by Richard on behalf of Queen Joan, were one hundred armed galleys, fully equipped, and victualled for two years;[a] but the claim was abandoned, and Tancred gave him four great ships, called "vissiers," and fifteen galleys.[b] In return for this and other valuable presents, which were made to Richard at the beginning of March, when he visited Tancred at Catania, he gave the Sicilian King a celebrated sword, called "Cali-

[a] "c. galeas armatas, cum toto apparatu, et cum victu galeotarum ad duos annos." Bromton, 1183.

[b] "Quatuor magnas naves quas *uffers* vocant et xv. galeas." Bromton, 1195. Hoveden, p. 391[b], calls them "ursers," and Benedict. Abbas, "Ussers." Vide p. 75, *ante*.

burne," which had belonged to King Arthur.[a] In the preceding December, while the English fleet was lying in the harbour of Messina, one of the galleys was struck by lightning, and sunk; and many of the others were so much injured by a species of worm called "beom," that it was necessary to careen and repair them.[b]

On the 30th of March 1191, the French monarch sailed for Palestine;[c] and information being brought to Richard that his mother the Queen Dowager of England, and his betrothed bride Berengaria of Navarre, had arrived at Reggio, on the opposite coast,[d] he crossed the Faro, and returned with the ladies to Messina on the day of Philip's departure.[e] About the same time the fleet was reinforced by thirty busses, bringing soldiers and provisions from England.[f] Either from its being the season of Lent,[g] or from Richard's unwillingness to delay his voyage, he did not solemnize his nuptials at Messina. Every preparation being

A. D. 1191. March.

[a] Hoveden, 391[b]; Bromton, 1195; Benedict. Abbas, II. 642.

[b] Hoveden, 387.

[c] Roger of Wendover (ed. Coxe, II. 87) says "the 4th;" but Hoveden, p. 392, and Benedict. Abbas, II. 644, say, "Saturday, the 3rd calends of April," *i. e.*, the 30th day of March; which, in 1191, fell on a Saturday, and fixes the date.

[d] Hoveden, 391, says, that Richard had sent his galleys to Naples in February, expecting that his mother and bride, and Philip Count of Flanders, would embark there. Philip did so, and came to Messina in an English galley; but the ladies travelled to Brindisi, where they were honourably received by Margaritus, the King of Sicily's admiral.

[e] Vinesauf, 316; Bromton, 1197; Hoveden, 392; Benedict. Abbas, II. 644. Bernard le Tresorier, 179, says, (no doubt erroneously,) that Berengaria did not arrive at Messina until after Richard had sailed: that she immediately followed him, and that they did not meet until he came to Cyprus. Richard of Devizes, p. 46, who agrees with the other English chroniclers, expresses himself with amusing caution about Berengaria; as he describes her, when she embarked at Messina, as "puella Navarorum, *forte* adhuc virgo," 46.

[f] Peter of Langtoft says,

> ..... "busses thritte
> Charged with vitaile, with good men and douhte."

[g] Lingard, vol. II. p. 456.

A. D. 1191. made, and the troops and stores embarked, he entrusted Berengaria to the care of his sister Queen Joan, and placed them on board a large buss, or dromon, commanded by Sir Stephen de Turnham, the commander of the fleet. On the morning of Wednes-
April. day the 10th of April, all the large ships put to sea; and as soon as the King had dined, he followed them down the Faro with the whole of his galleys.[a] The English fleet has been variously described; but most writers agree in stating, that it consisted of thirteen dromons, or very large busses, one hundred and fifty smaller busses, fifty-three well-armed galleys, with several galliasses, and other light vessels.[b] The busses and ships were of great burthen, wonderful fleetness, and strongly and compactly built. Each of the large ships carried, besides her crew, forty valuable horses, with the necessary armour, and the same number of foot-soldiers. The money for the expedition was distributed among the ships and busses in case of accident, and they were stored with provisions of all kinds for one year.[c] The order of sailing is graphically represented: In the van were three large ships, filled with soldiers and stores; and in one of them were the Queen of Sicily and Berengaria of Navarre, the two others of those ships being laden with the most valuable part of the King's arms and treasure. The second line was composed of thirteen ships, busses, and dro-

[a] Vinesauf, 316; Wendover, II. 37; Hoveden, 393.

[b] Hoveden, 393; Bromton, 1197. Roger of Wendover (II. 37) says, there were in Richard's fleet thirteen busses sailing with a threefold expansion of sails, "triplici velorum expansione;" one hundred ships of burden, "naves onerariæ;" and fifty galleys of three banks of oars. Richard of Devizes' enumeration of the ships gives one hundred and eighty-two sail, besides the galleys.

[c] Richard of Devizes, ed. Stevenson, 17.

mons; the third, of fourteen; the fourth, of twenty; A.D. 1191 April. the fifth, of thirty; the sixth, of forty; and the seventh line, of sixty vessels. The King himself, with all his galleys, which remained in the rear for the better protection of the convoy,[a] formed the eighth line.[b] The lines were so close that a trumpet could be heard from one to the other; and each ship was near enough to her consort to communicate by hailing.[c] On Thursday the 11th of April, when off Etna, a calm obliged them to anchor; but a light and favourable breeze springing up the next day, Good Friday, they weighed and made some progress. In the night they were again becalmed; and on Saturday the 13th the fleet experienced so heavy a gale from the southward, that the passengers and crews alike were sea-sick and frightened; and the ships becoming ungovernable, many of them were dispersed. "Despairing," says the historian, "of all human aid, they trusted to God alone." During the whole storm, Richard remained cool and collected, encouraging all around him by his speeches and example. Towards evening the gale abated, and the King's ship, which was indicated during the night by a light at the mast-head, brought to, that the scattered vessels might gather round her. "In truth," says Vinesauf, "the King watched and looked after his fleet as a hen doth over her chickens." All, except twenty-five vessels, having appeared in the morning, they proceeded with a fair wind to the island of Crete, where the King anchored on the 17th of April.

Among the missing vessels was the ship in which his sister and bride had taken their passage; but the

[a] Vinesauf, 316. [b] Richard of Devizes, p. 46. [c] Ibid.

A. D. 1191. April. next day, seeing nothing of those vessels, he continued his voyage. A favourable breeze impelled the fleet "with bellying sails and masts slightly bowed, not unlike a flight of birds;" and the following morning they found themselves close to Rhodes.[a] It seems that, either from having missed the port, or from being unacquainted with the coast, the vessels lay to off the island until the 22nd, when Richard landed, and, being taken ill, continued there for some days. Naturally anxious to learn what had become of his sister and Berengaria, he sent galleys in all directions to look for them, and for the other missing vessels. Meanwhile the Queen's ship, with several others, had reached Cyprus, which was then in the hands of Isaac Comnenus, styling himself Emperor. When the vessel with the two Queens on board entered the bay of Lymesol, Isaac invited the ladies to land;[b] but they declined, saying they only wished to know if the King had passed. The Emperor then armed four galleys; and the commander of the English ship, suspecting his intentions, immediately weighed and stood out to sea. Of the other vessels that had parted from the fleet in the gale of the 14th, three were wrecked on the rocks of Cyprus,[c] and nearly all on board drowned, including Roger Malchien the Vice-Chancellor, who had the great seal suspended from his neck; but, his corpse being washed on shore, the seal was found by a peasant, and afterwards restored to the King. The few survivors were ill-treated and imprisoned, their goods plundered, and their ships destroyed.[d]

[a] Vinesauf, 317.

[b] Hoveden, 393, however, says that Isaac would not permit their ship to enter the port.

[c] One or more of these ships appears to have had money on board. Vide p. 114 *ante*, and p. 118, *post*.

[d] Hoveden, 393; Vinesauf, 319; Bromton, 1197; Bernard le Tresorier, 179.

On the 6th of May, Richard appeared off the harbour of Lymesol, where he found the ship with his sister and bride on board, and was informed of the manner in which they had been treated by Isaac, and the fate of his three ships and their crews. Indignant at Isaac's conduct, he immediately sent two of his knights to demand satisfaction. The Emperor pretended to be highly displeased, and his offensive answer, "Ptruht Sire, I have nothing to do with the King," so excited Richard's displeasure, that he instantly determined to attack the town. Having commanded his people to arm, Richard leapt from his ship into a boat, and was followed by a host of knights and soldiers, in galleys and smaller vessels.[a] Isaac opposed them with a large body of his "griffons,"[b] and barricaded the town with doors and windows of houses, old galleys, casks, and other things; but nothing could resist the impetuous valour of the crusaders. Cœur de Lion himself struck the first blow:[c] Lymesol soon fell into their hands; and the Emperor, completely defeated, took refuge in the mountains. The next day, the ship with the two Queens, and the rest of the fleet, anchored in the port. During the ensuing night the English renewed their attack on the Emperor, completely routed him, and among numerous spoils captured his standard, which Richard reserved for an offering to the shrine of St. Edmund at Westminster. About the 11th of May, Isaac sued for terms, and was admitted into the presence

A.D. 1191. May.

[a] Vinesauf calls these small vessels "snakes"—"in cimbis esnecearum." Hoveden says, the English "exierunt e magnis navibus in naviculas et galeas," p. 393.

[b] A term of reproach applied by the Christians to the Greeks of the Byzantine empire. Richard called his castle at Messina "Mategriffon," "ad matandos seu vexandos Græcos," says Ducange.

[c] "Rex armatus, primus de galea exsiliens, primum ictum dedit in bello." Richard of Devizes, p. 46.

A.D. 1191. May. of his conqueror, who appeared on a Spanish charger, dressed in a tunic of rose-coloured silk embroidered with golden crescents, holding a truncheon in his right hand. Besides other humiliating conditions, Isaac agreed to resign all his castles and do homage to the King of England, to serve under him in the Holy War with five hundred knights, to pay twenty thousand marks of gold as a compensation for the money which had been lost in the ships,[a] and to restore their crews and effects, and to deliver his daughter as a hostage. About the 11th of May, Guy, King of Jerusalem, the Prince of Antioch, and several other eminent persons, unexpectedly arrived at Cyprus to offer their services to the King of England, and to swear fealty to him. Isaac broke the treaty a few hours after it was made; and, while the knights appointed to guard him took their mid-day sleep, he escaped, and proceeded to the interior of the island. Richard immediately placed his army under the Prince of Antioch, and directed him to pursue the fugitive; while, to prevent his escape by sea, he divided his galleys, and taking one half, and entrusting the other to Sir Robert de Turnham, he swept the coast on one side of the island, and Turnham on the other, capturing every vessel they met with.[b] Isaac was again defeated; and, broken down by his calamities, he threw himself at Richard's feet, who ordered him to be placed in silver chains, and to be confined in a castle in Palestine.[c] A foreign Island was thus, for the first time, conquered by a British armament, and Cyprus was the first acquisition in a distant sea to the British Crown.

[a] "In recompensatione pecuniarum submersarum."

[b] Hoveden, 393[b].

[c] Ibid. 394.

The King returned to Lymesol, and on Sunday the 12th of May was married to Berengaria. Their nuptials were celebrated with great splendour, and the Queen was crowned the next day by the Bishop of Evreux.[a] Soon after this event, the remainder of the vessels which had separated on the 14th of April arrived at Cyprus. Richard's fleet then consisted, besides many ships of great burden, of forty armed galleys, including five which he had taken from the Emperor Isaac, and sixty others "of great excellence,"[b] and which, to use a modern expression, were his "men-of-war." About the 25th of May, the Queens, Berengaria and Joan, accompanied by the captive daughter of the Emperor, sailed from Cyprus with all the busses or large ships, and arrived at Acre on the 1st of June.[c] A.D. 1191. May. June.

Nearly a fortnight was occupied by Richard in receiving the homage of the Cypriots, and in making arrangements for the government of the island; but on Wednesday, the 5th of June, he embarked in the "Trench-the-Mer," and proceeded with all his galleys for the scene of his future glory.[d] Before, however, he reached Palestine, he became the hero of a naval battle, the first in which a King of England had been present since the days of Alfred. Though memorable from this circumstance, and remarkable in itself, comparatively little notice has been taken of the conflict by naval historians. "Ploughing their way across the seas," they made the coast of Syria, close to the castle of Margat, on the 6th of June, and then shaped their course along the land for Acre. On the 7th, when near Baruth, an immense ship was discovered ahead.

[a] Hoveden, 394.
[b] Ibid.; Vinesauf, 324.
[c] Hoveden, 394; Vinesauf, 328.
[d] Hoveden, 394.

A.D. 1191. June. This vessel, which was the largest the English had ever seen, excited their wonder and admiration. Some chroniclers call her a dromon, and others a buss; while one of them exclaims, "A marvellous ship! a ship than which, except Noah's ship, none greater was ever read of!" and which he afterwards calls the "Queen of Ships."[a] This vessel was, they say, very stoutly built, had three tall tapering masts, and her sides were painted, in some places green and in others yellow, so elegantly, that nothing could exceed her beauty. She was full of men, to the incredible number of fifteen hundred; among whom were seven emirs[b] and eighty chosen Turks, for the defence of Acre: and was laden with bows, arrows, and other weapons, an abundance of Greek fire in jars, and "two hundred most deadly serpents, prepared for the destruction of Christians."

Richard directed a galley, commanded by Peter de Barris, to approach and examine the stranger; and was told that the vessel was going from Antioch to the siege of Acre, and belonged to the King of France, but that the crew could neither speak French, nor show a French or other Christian banner.[c] Being further interrogated, they varied from their story, and pretended to be Genoese bound for Tyre. Meanwhile an English galleyman had recognised the ship as having been fitted out at Baruth while he was in that port; and, in reply to the King's question, he said, "I will give my head to be cut off, or myself to be hanged, if I do

[a] Richard of Devizes, 49.

[b] "Admirati."

[c] Bromton, 1200, and Hoveden, 394, say, that the vessel bore the banners of the King of France and his companions; that Richard sent two galleys after her; and that, when he received their first answer, he desired his galleys to return to the ship, and desire it to wait and speak with him.

not prove that this is a Saracen ship. Let a galley be sent after them, and give them no salutation; their intention and trustworthiness will then be discovered."[a] The suggestion was adopted; and, the moment the galley came alongside of the ship, the Saracens threw arrows and Greek fire into her. Richard instantly ordered the enemy to be attacked, saying, "Follow and take them, for if they escape, ye lose my love for ever; and if ye capture them, all their goods shall be yours." Himself foremost in the fight,[b] and summoning his galleys to the royal vessel, he animated all around by his characteristic valour. Showers of missiles flew on both sides, and the Turkish ship slackened her way; but, though the galleys rowed round and about her in all directions, her great height and the number of her crew, whose arrows fell with deadly effect from her decks, rendered it extremely difficult to board her. The English consequently became discouraged if not dismayed, when the King cried out, "Will ye now suffer that ship to get off untouched and uninjured? Oh shame! after so many triumphs, do ye now give way to sloth and fear? Know that, if this ship escape, every one of you shall be hung on the cross or put to extreme torture." The galleymen "making," says the candid historian, "a virtue of necessity," jumped overboard, and, diving under the enemy's vessel, fastened ropes to her rudder, steering her as they pleased; and then, catching hold of ropes and climbing up her sides, they succeeded at last in boarding her. A desperate conflict ensued: the Turks were forced forward; but,

A.D. 1191. June.

[a] "Et nullum eis salutationis, ab ipsis proferatur eulogium, sicque probabitur cujus intentionis fuerint vel credulitatis."

[b] "Primus ipse pugnatorum." Richard of Devizes, 49, says the ship was fortified with towers and bulwarks.

A.D. 1191. June. being joined by those from below, they rallied, and drove their assailants back to their galleys. Only one resource remained; and it instantly presented itself to the King's mind. He ordered his galleys to pierce the sides of the enemy with the iron spurs affixed to their prows. These directions were executed with great skill and success. The galleys, receding a little, formed a line; and then, giving full effect to their oars, struck the Turkish ship with such violence, that her sides were stove in many places, and, the sea immediately rushing in, she soon foundered. All her gallant crew, except fifty-five, who were spared from no worthier motive than that they would be useful in the construction of military engines, were either drowned or slain by the inhuman victors. So much importance was attached to the destruction of this ship, that it is said, if she had arrived in safety, Acre would never have been taken. It is particularly stated that the two hundred serpents were drowned, and that the King fulfilled his promise by rewarding the galleymen with everything they could save out of the ship.[a] To these particulars of the engagement, it is proper to add the account given of it in the rough though vigorous English verse of the thirteenth century:[b]

"At none the tother day thei sauh fer in the se
A grete busse and gay, fulle hie of saile was he.
The weder was fulle soft, the wynde held tham stille,
The saile was hie o loft, thei had no wynde at wille.
In Philip navie of France a pencelle thei put oute,
His armes on a lance over alle the schip aboute.

[a] Vinesauf, 328; Hoveden, 394; Bromton, 1200, 1201.

[b] Peter of Langtoft.

A. D. 1191. June.

So mykelle was that barge, it might not lightly saile,
And so heavy of charge, and the wynde gan faile.
To wite what thei were, went a marinere:
Respons thei gaf him there, 'thei were men of mistere,
'Fro Antioche were went unto Kyng Philip,
'And for us has he sent, and his is this schip.'
Said the Kyng R. 'Sir prince if thou be,
'Bi tyme turn to me ward, for I wille speke with the.'
The Prince com fulle sone, Sir Richard did he calle,
'Do dight and mak yow bone, the schip ere Sarazins alle,
'Tille Acres thei tham rape, venom for our men lede,
'And if thei us ascape, the Cristen may tham dede.'
Than cried Richard on hie, 'Now batale us belyve,
'Thorgh help of our Ladie, that schip salle alle to ryve.'
Ilk man that may wynne tok to his partie,
To set chalange ther inne salle no man be hardie.
The Kynges owen galeie, he called it Trencthemere,
That was first on weie, and com the schip fulle nere.
Other were ther inowe, that ther after drouh,
Bot he com with a suowe, that the schip to rof.
The schip cast trokes out, the galeie to tham droub,
The Kyng stode fulle stout, and many of tham slouh;
Wilde fire thei kast, the Kyng to confound;
His schipmen were fulle wrask, els had he gone to ground.
The Kyng abaist him nouht, bot stalworthly fauht,
Alle to dede he brouht, that his galeie over rauht.
The galeie ther thorght schete, and the Kyng was gode,
The schip that was so grete, it dronkled in the flode.
Thei teld fiveten hundred Sarazins, that drenkled were,
Fourti and sex wer sundred, and alle tho were saved there.
The summe couth no man telle of gold that was ther in,
And other riches to selle, but alle mot thei not wyn.
The venom alle thei hent, in the se cast it away,
The folk it mot haf schent, that about Acres lay.
Armour thei had plente, and god besquite to mete.
It sanke son in the se, half myght thei not gete.
Richard bade, 'hale vp hie your sailes, ther God vs lede,
'Our men at Acres lie, of help thei haf grete nede.'
The date was a thousand, a hundreth nienti and one,
Fro Cipres he was sailand, a toun he wan Acon."

There is scarcely sufficient information by which to judge of the merits of this affair as a naval engagement. In point of numbers (for it is impossible to believe that

A.D. 1191. June. the Turkish ship had fifteen hundred persons on board) as well of vessels as of men, the English were, no doubt, very superior to the enemy; but she had great advantage over the English galleys from her enormous bulk and height. That this did much to equalize the combat, and that the Turks displayed great valour, is shown by the difficulty of boarding her, and by their having driven the English from her decks. It appears, moreover, that the ship was destroyed by the prows of the galleys rather than by the courage of their crews; and it is very doubtful if she ever surrendered, but, to use a modern phrase, went down with her colours flying.

King Richard landed at Acre on Saturday the 10th of June, and was received with such enthusiastic joy that "the earth shook with the shouts of his companions in arms."[a] He lost no time in aiding the besiegers, and July. the town surrendered on the 12th of July. Though the English galleys were of great assistance to the army during the remainder of the crusade, nothing took place of a strictly naval character.

Having concluded a truce with Saladin, and being greatly reduced by illness, King Richard determined in A. D. 1192. September 1192 to return to Europe. Early in October, the Queens Berengaria and Joan sailed from Palestine for Sicily, and, on the 8th of that month, Richard took his departure in a large buss; but, owing to contrary winds, he was nearly a month at sea before he reached the island of Corfu. Perceiving three galleys on the coast of Romania, he crossed over in a small vessel, and agreed to give the masters of the galleys two hundred marks to convey him and his suite

[a] Vinesauf, 331.

to Ragusa and Zara.[a] To avoid being recognised, he wore his beard and hair like those of a pilgrim; but, his expenditure and retinue being inconsistent with his appearance, his rank was suspected. He succeeded, however, in reaching a village near Vienna, where he was arrested by order of Leopold Duke of Austria on the 20th of December, and he remained a prisoner nearly a year and five months. Towards the close of 1193, when the terms for his release were settled, Richard sent to England for his ships, and for Alan Trenchmer, their commander,[b] who arrived with them at Antwerp in the following spring. Early in March 1194, the King embarked in a galley, commanded by Trenchmer, that he might pass more easily between the islands in the Scheld; but he slept every night on board a large and beautiful ship belonging to Rye, perhaps from its superior accommodations. On the sixth day he arrived at Swyne, opposite the isle of Cadsand, where he was detained five days. He then sailed for England, and landed at Sandwich on Sunday the 13th of March, amidst the joyful acclamations of his subjects.[c]

A.D. 1192. September.

December.

A.D. 1193.

A.D. 1194. March.

Scarcely had Richard arrived than he adopted measures for chastising the King of France for his perfidy

[a] Hoveden, 408, 409; Coggeshall, 830. Bromton, 1250, says, however, that Richard sailed from Acre in a light ship; that, about the 12th of November, he was driven by strong contrary winds on the territories of the Emperor of Constantinople; that, fearing to be discovered by the Greeks, he disguised himself, and hired some pirates to convey him to Sclavonia; and that, passing thence between Aquileia and Venice, he was shipwrecked. Coggeshall states that these pirates attacked Richard's ship. None of the chroniclers state where the King proposed to land; but as the Queen went to Sicily, he probably intended to follow her to that island. In 1193, the ladies were conducted to Rome by Sir Stephen de Turnham, and remained six months in the holy city. They then went to Pisa, thence to Genoa and Marseilles, where they were met by the King of Arragon, and returned through Spain to Poitou. Hoveden, 417.

[b] Hoveden, 412[b].

[c] Hoveden, 418; Bromton, 1257.

A.D. 1194. April. in making war in Normandy. A numerous army assembled at Portsmouth in April 1194, where a fleet of one hundred sail was ready to convey it across the Channel. After waiting some days for a fair wind, Richard gave way to his natural impetuosity. Though the wind was still contrary, and the weather tempestuous, he ordered his soldiers and horses to embark May. on the 2nd of May; and, going himself with a few followers on board of a "long ship," insisted on putting to sea, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his sailors. Fortunately, however, the rest of the fleet remained in port; for the next morning after a stormy night Richard was obliged to take shelter in the Isle of Wight, whence he returned to Portsmouth. At the expiration of eight days, the wind and weather became favourable; and on the 12th of May the King again embarked, and conducted his fleet to Barfleur.[a] On this occasion Cœur de Lion quitted England for A.D. 1199. March. the last time; and, on the 26th of March 1199, was slain while besieging the castle of Chaluz[b] in Normandy.

[a] Hoveden, 421; Bromton, 1259.

[b] The place where Richard received his mortal wound, and the name of the archer by whose hand he fell, have been variously stated; and all the authorities are collected in the Preface to the "Rotuli Curiæ Regis," by Sir Francis Palgrave.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1199 to 1216.—THE KING'S GALLEYS, LONG SHIPS, AND GREAT SHIPS, GALLEYMEN AND SAILORS. — MERCHANT-VESSELS. — COGS. — MANNER OF ARRESTING SHIPS FOR THE KING'S SERVICE.—EMBARGOES ON SHIPPING.—SEA-COASTS GUARDED.—KEEPERS OF THE KING'S SHIPS AND PORTS. — GALLEYS OF THE CINQUE PORTS.—VESSELS HIRED BY THE KING.—FREIGHT.—LARGEST SHIPS HAD ONLY ONE MAST.—NAVAL STORES APPRAISED BY SEAMEN. — NAMES OF SHIPS. — ENLISTMENT OF SEAMEN. — PRIZE MONEY.—OFFICERS AND CREWS. — WAGES AND PROVISIONS. — CIVIL OFFICERS OF THE NAVY. — DOCKS CONSTRUCTED AT PORTSMOUTH. — NAMES OF COMMANDERS OF THE KING'S GALLEYS.—NAVAL WARFARE OF THE CRUSADERS. —ORDINANCE FOR SHIPS TO LOWER THEIR SAILS TO THE KING'S ADMIRAL. —REASONS FOR DOUBTING ITS AUTHENTICITY.

WITH the reign of King John the materials for English history become abundant and authentic; and as every grant, and nearly all the ordinances of the Sovereign, were thenceforward recorded, the statements of contemporary annalists can be verified, and in many instances enlarged and illustrated by official documents. May 1199 to Octr. 1216.

For this reason curious and minute information exists respecting the Navy; and it appears that King John may be considered as the actual founder of the Royal Navy of England. A close approach was then made to a regular Naval establishment; and the right of England to the Sovereignty of the narrow Seas is said, though not on satisfactory authority, to have been solemnly asserted, if not enforced.

Galleys and galliasses were the principal vessels of war, but another kind of vessel, probably a species

of galley, described as "long ships," were used to guard the coasts. In July 1204, the King commanded the keepers of the "long ships," and of the sea-ports of England, to allow a merchant's vessel to pass their "long ships" and the ports, and to trade wherever he pleased;[a] and in the following year the bailiffs of Bristol, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Wales were directed to procure all the expert workmen for the King's works, and sailors to navigate the King's "long ships," at his expense.[b] Besides the King's galleys and his "long ships," notices occur of his "great ships," the allusions to which are important, because they leave no doubt that the largest vessels had only one mast and sail.[c] Cogs[d] are, and apparently for the first time, mentioned; and, though they continued to be used for many centuries, no exact description or representation has been found to show in what they differed, either in construction or rig, from other vessels. It may, however, be inferred that they were short, and of great breadth, like a cockle-shell, whence they are said to have derived their name. It appears that cogs were used for conveying passengers from England to France,[e] and as coasting vessels. They were

[a] Rot. Pat. pp. 44, 52.

[b] Ibid. p. 52; "omnes operarios et nautas de ballivis vestris quos ipsi viderint aptos esse ad operationes nostras faciendas et ad longas naves nostras ducend as ad denarios nostros."

[c] Vide pp. 137, 138, *post.*

[d] The name of these vessels has been variously written—cog, kogge, gogga, kogghe, kogh, coca, cocka, coqua, cocka, cocha, cocco. Spelman derives it from coque, a shell, from the form of the vessel being short and round. The name still exists in the cock-boat, formerly called a cock, as in the well-known lines;—"And yon tall, anchoring bark diminished to her *cock*; her *cock* a buoy, almost too small for sight."

[e] In June 1213, the King authorized the Bishop of Norwich to have three of the "goggas" at Sandwich, to convey the archbishop and bishops to England; but the freight of these cogs was to be paid by the Bishop, and not by the King. Rot. Claus. p. 137.

probably much smaller than busses or ships, to which they seem sometimes to have been attached, for in 1210, when five ships were hired for the King's service, it was said to have been "without a cog."[a] Other small merchant-vessels were called schuyts and snakes or "sornakes." In an ordinance imposing certain customs in 1204, it was provided that all steersmen and sailors, who might bring any ship, schuyt, sornake, or boat, or other ship, small or great, into the English ports, should swear that they would not carry away any merchandize, unless licensed by the bailiffs appointed to levy a tax, called the fifteenth, from its bearing that proportion to the goods of the people.[b] Not only are ships and galleys shown to have belonged to the King, by being expressly called in his precepts "ours," but the same term is applied to galleymen and sailors, many of whom seem to have been constantly retained in pay.

The size of vessels of transport and burthen, or "merchant-ships," may be inferred from their carrying eight, ten, twelve, and even fifteen horses, which were placed amidships:[c] and an order was given to the reeves of Bristol, in 1214, to send the King a list of

[a] Rot. Misæ, 11 John, p. 154.

[b] "Item, assisum est quod omnes stermanni et nautæ qui aliquam navem, vel scutam, vel sorneccum, vel batellum, vel aliquam aliam navem, parvam vel magnam, ducant per portus circa Angliam, jurabunt pro se et manupastu suo quod nunquam carcabunt vel adducent in navibus suis aliquas marcandias nisi per licentiam baillivorum de xv^a^." Rot. Patent. p. 42.

[c] Rot. Pat. p. 62^b^; Rot. Claus. pp. 159, 228. The order to place the horses amidships is also remarkable, from showing that two ships, belonging to some Bayonne merchants, laden with tin, had been impressed to convey horses to Poitou; but, to prevent loss to the merchants, by landing the tin, it was directed to be placed in the bow and stern of the vessel.

"Mandamus vobis quod liberari faciatis militibus nobiscum venientibus in Pitcaviam duas naves de Baiona ita quod ponant equos suos in medio navium, et permittatis quod Petrus le Poer, W. Petri, Peter Ernald, mercatores de Baiona, salvo ponant stagnum suum in prorâ et puppe ipsarum navium ita quod

all the ships belonging to that port capable of holding eighty tuns of wine, or more; specifying how many tons each vessel could carry, together with the names and surnames[a] of their owners.

The bailiffs or reeves of the sea-ports were obliged to ascertain by a jury the number, size, and other particulars of the vessels belonging to each port; and when those vessels were required for the King's service, the jury were also to see that they were properly equipped and manned. The bailiffs were likewise responsible for the arrival of the ships at the time and place specified in the King's writ; and, on some occasions, the bailiffs and two other substantial inhabitants of the place were personally to bring back the writ, to give an account of their proceedings, and to answer to the enrolments of ships made by the said jury.[b] Whenever ships were wanted, peremptory commands were issued to the authorities of the ports to lay an embargo upon every vessel therein,[c] and for all mariners with their vessels to repair to a specified port without delay;[d] the Cinque Ports being at the same time warned to furnish the ships which they were bound to provide, or, as it was termed, to "find the service they owed."[e]

In great emergencies, the King's galleys, and those belonging to the Cinque Ports, were sent into the Channel with orders to bring into port every

omnino tempus suum non mittant." Rot. Claus. p. 147[a].

It is, however, material to observe, that the vessels carrying even fifteen horses are called small ships —"naviculæ;" and when some "naviculæ," which had been arrested, were ordered to be released, with their cargoes, they were prohibited from taking any horses. Ibid. p. 197.

[a] "nomina et cognomina." Rot. Claus. p. 177.

[b] Rot. Pat. 7 John, pp. 85, 270.

[c] Rot. Claus. 133, *et passim*.

[d] Rot. Pat. pp. 62, 64, *et passim*.

[e] Ibid.

vessel they might meet with.[a] In time of war no ship could quit a harbour without a special licence from the King;[b] and it was sometimes made a condition that she should proceed in a direct course to a particular port.[c] It was even necessary that a licence should be obtained to enable ships to carry corn and other provisions from port to port in England, and the owners were obliged to give security that the vessels did not proceed beyond the sea;[d] and so rigidly was the coast guarded, that the galleys of the Earl of Chester could not go to or return from that county without the King's licence, addressed to the keepers of the Sea-ports and of the King's galleys.[e]

When permission was given to a neutral ship to sail, security was taken that she should not touch at any place until she arrived in her own country;[f] and security was also required that ships would not go to an enemy's country.[g] If, under special circumstances, a vessel were allowed to go to an enemy's port, security was given by her owners that she would not take any letters or other things prejudicial to the King.[h] If the vessels belonging to any port were on a voyage when they were wanted by the King, their owners were directed in peremptory terms to hasten their return.[i]

On the 29th of April 1206, the constable of Southampton and two other persons were commanded to go to that port, and to Portsmouth, Newhaven, A. D. 1206. April.

[a] Rot. Pat. 9 John, pp. 80, 110, 117.
[b] Rot. Claus. p. 133.
[c] Ibid. p. 141.
[d] Ibid. p. 106.
[e] Rot. Pat. p. 62.
[f] Ibid. pp. 120, 211.
[g] Ibid. pp. 210, 260, 270.
[h] Ibid. p. 238.
[i] Ibid. pp. 197, 203.

Christchurch, and Yarmouth, for the King's service; to detain all vessels therein fit for transport and capable of carrying eight or more horses, to make them ship good sailors at the King's wages, and to send them to Portsmouth. They were to be careful that every vessel was provided with bridges and clayes;[a] to make lists of the names of the owners, the number of the crew, and of the horses which each ship could carry. They were instantly on the receipt of these commands to despatch by night or day trusty messengers to the said ships in every port, who were to transact such business as they themselves could not perform; and the inhabitants of those ports were to be told, that, if they did not obey such persons,
A. D. 1206. they only would be held responsible.[b]

In May, the barons of the Cinque Ports were warned to be at Portsmouth by the feast of Pentecost, with all the service they owed, as the Archdeacon of Taunton would explain to them.[c] Writs were issued, on the 19th of May, to all such merchants, masters,[d] and seamen as might meet the King's messengers on the sea with those orders before the 24th of June, to repair with the first fair wind to Portsmouth with their ships and goods under the King's safe-conduct, there to receive their pay and to enter into his service. If, after receiving these commands, any one, whatever might be his country, should delay coming to the King's service, he would be considered his enemy, wherever he found him within his dominions, whether by land or sea.[e]

[a] "Pontes et cleie."
[b] Rot. Pat. p. 62.
[c] Ibid. p. 64.
[d] "Sturemanni," literally steersmen.
[e] Rot. Pat. p. 65.

In 1208, the bailiffs of most of the sea-ports were directed to cause all their ships to return to England before the ensuing Easter, that they might be ready for the King's service, and at his cost. If any ship failed to be in readiness, it was to be seized, and the owner placed at the King's mercy in body and goods, unless he could show sufficient cause for the omission. The number of ships, and the names of the owners, were to be sent to the Archdeacon of Taunton at London.[a] At the same time, the barons of the Cinque Ports, and the bailiffs of Portsmouth, Shoreham, Southampton, and other places, were ordered to select the best and strongest men therein, and such as were well armed, to man the King's galleys.[b] In April of the same year, all masters, sailors, and merchants[c] of England, voyaging at sea, were informed that the King had sent certain of the barons of the Cinque Ports, with the masters and seamen of his galleys, to arrest all the ships they might find on the sea, and to bring them with their cargoes to England, and they were commanded to assist those persons in every way in their power.[d]

So strictly was the right of the Crown to impress ships enforced, that when a merchant was permitted to use his own vessel during a general arrest, she was first valued by the sheriff, who was authorized to let her sail; and the reason for the indulgence is stated to have been, that a person had undertaken by his charter that she should return to the King's service, or pay her value.[e] Ships belonging to two persons not hav-

[a] Rot. Pat. p. 80.
[b] Ibid.
[c] "Sturmanni, et marinelli, et mercatores."
[d] Rot. Pat. p. 81[b].
[e] Rot. Claus. p. 151.

ing arrived at the appointed time, they were seized; but, in consideration of their owners having well and laudably conveyed the King to Studland, the ships were ordered in June 1213 to be restored, upon condition that their owners gave security that the said vessels would then proceed with the King's fleet.[a]

It seems that none of the King's subjects could sell his ship to a foreigner without the King's permission; for in June 1215 Simon Grim of Hythe obtained a licence to sell his ship called "Grim" to Guiomar de Lyons, and letters were issued to all bailiffs and others, stating that fact, and commanding them to allow the said ship to pass freely through his dominions.[b]

Besides the King's own galleys, the Crown mainly relied on the fleet which the Cinque Ports were bound to furnish according to their charters. In the year 1205 the following list was made of all the galleys or vessels of war which were ready for service, with the ports in which they then were, and the names of the officers who had charge of them.

At London there were five, at Newhaven two, and at Sandwich three galleys, in the custody of Reginald of Cornhill. At Romney there were four, at Rye two, at Winchelsea two, at Shoreham five, at Southampton two, and at Exeter two galleys, in the custody of William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton. At Bristol there were three galleys, at Ipswich two, at Dunwich five, at Lynne five, at Yarmouth three, in Ireland five galleys, and at Gloucester one galley, in the custody of William de Marisco and John de la Ware.[c] In this list, which contains fifty-one galleys,

[a] Rot. Claus. 15 John, p. 136.
[b] Rot. Pat. p. 143.
[c] Rot. Claus. p. 33.

those belonging to the Cinque Ports do not appear to be included,[a] though many of the King's galleys were then in some of those ports: hence, as the Cinque Ports furnished fifty-two, there was then ready for sea a fleet of more than one hundred galleys, or "men-of-war." If an inhabitant of the Cinque Ports performed military, he was released from naval service: thus, Henry de Sandwich having been commanded to attend the King with horse and arms, the barons of Sandwich, and the keepers of the King's galleys, were directed, in April 1205, to acquit him of the duty of leading the King's galleys.[b]

The King occasionally lent his galleys to the inhabitants of sea-ports, who were to man them for the safeguard of their coast. In April 1205, the inhabitants of Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Beccles, and Orford were informed that the King, having released his galleys stationed on the coast of England from that duty, he had sent them two galleys, to remain in his service until Michaelmas-day. They were directed to find two masters to navigate, and two other men to command, these vessels,[c] for whose competency and fidelity they were to give security, together with one hundred and forty good seamen to go in them. They were, moreover, to send to London the necessary number of persons to receive the galleys, to whom one

[a] The close agreement between the number of galleys in this list, and the number furnished by the Cinque Ports, and the fact that some of those ports are mentioned, would justify the inference that this list merely shows the distribution of the galleys belonging to the Cinque Ports; were it not that four of the principal Cinque Ports, viz. Dover, Hastings, Hythe, and Pevensey, in which some galleys must undoubtedly have been, are not noticed.

[b] Rot. Claus. p. 29; "quietum esse de servicio quod nobis debet ad galeas nostras ducendas."

[c] "Magistros rectores ad eas regendas, et duos alios qui superiorem curam inde habeant."

hundred marks would be paid for their crews. As an additional reward, the men were to have a moiety of all prizes they might capture from the enemy.[a] Another galley was sent to Ipswich, and three to Dunwich.[b] When vessels were impressed, their owners appear to have been always remunerated for the detention of them; and numerous payments occur for the hire of ships. Vessels were generally hired to convey the King's officers, servants, and soldiers, military engines, money, horses and stores, from England to Normandy and Anjou; and, though there are many orders for payments of freight, no particulars as to the size of the vessels, or the length of the voyage, are mentioned. In 1210, nineteen marks were paid for the hire of five ships, apparently to go to Poitou.[c] Six marks were paid in 1215 for the hire of one vessel, and sixty shillings for another; the master first making oath that she was hired for that sum.[d] On the same occasion, the freightage of the ship in which John de Chisholm, and other persons, had been passengers, was ordered to be paid,[e] together with nineteen pounds for the freight of three Flemish ships.[f] The manner in which vessels were obtained for transport, and which continued to be the usage for many centuries, will however be best shown by literal translations of a few of the King's precepts for the purpose.

It being necessary in June 1200 to send to England the three persons who brought some money to Normandy, the following command was issued to the bailiff of Barfleur:

"The King to the Bailiff of Barfleur. Find a

[a] Rot. Pat. p. 52.
[b] Rot. Claus. 6 John, p. 28.
[c] Rot. Misæ, p. 155.
[d] Rot. Claus. p. 234.
[e] Rot. Claus. p. 237.
[f] Ibid.

passage, without regard to price,[a] for six horses in a good ship, for Matthew Belet and William Avenel and Robert de Clairgat, who brought our treasure from England, and it shall be computed to you at the Exchequer. Witness, Robert de Turnham, the 3rd day of June."[b] And, on the 29th of June, the same officer was directed to "find a passage for John Palmer, with our three chargers and his horse, in the first ship sailing for England," and it was to be computed to him at the Exchequer.[c]—"To the Bailiff of Southampton. Find for William de Neville a good and secure ship well clayed,[d] to carry over our wild animals which he takes in the New Forest."[e]—"To the Bailiff of Shoreham. Find a good and secure ship, without regard to price, for William de Aune, our knight, and twenty bowmen, to carry them over in our service, and compute thereof at our Exchequer."[f]

Foreign ships are often mentioned, particularly those of Scotland, Flanders, Bayonne, Germany, Denmark, and Norway.[g] Stores, namely anchors, cables, masts, yards, ropes, pitch, tallow, "heyras" and hooks,[h] oars, canvass, iron nails, &c. were often purchased;[i] and, like all other articles obtained for the Crown, the value was first ascertained by the testimony of competent persons,—sailors being appointed to estimate naval stores. It is evident that the galleys and largest ships had only one mast and one

[a] "Sine precio," *i. e.* at any price.
[b] Rot. Norm. i. p 24.
[c] Ibid. p. 27.
[d] "et bene claiata."
[e] Rot. Liberate, 5 John, p. 82.
[f] Ibid. p. 106.
[g] Rot. Pat. p. 83; Rot. Claus. pp. 136, 144, 147, 237.
[h] The meaning of these words, and of "laurum" in the next page, has not been ascertained.
[i] Rot. Claus. pp. 39, 42; money paid "in arris navium," 156, 234, 237, 243, 250.

yard each. In October 1215, the bailiffs of Portsmouth were ordered to cause Enjuger de Bohun to have the mast of the great ship which the King gave to Richard Deudone;[a] he was also to have a yard of any of the ships in that port,[b] and the yard of the King's great ship.[c] The anchors for the King's galleys, thirty of which were ordered to be purchased and sent to Portsmouth in December 1213, were seven feet long.[d] His great ship had five cables, which, with her large boat, were also to be delivered to Bohun; but they were first to be appraised by mariners, and he was to be answerable to the King for the sum at which they might estimate them.[e] Bohun was also to have on the same conditions the anchors and "laurum," of the said great ship.[f] There is nothing to show the value of the galleys or other vessels; and the order to deliver to a sailor of Hythe a ship at Sandwich, if she were not worth more than ten shillings, in recompense of one which had been damaged coming from Flanders,[f] probably referred to a very small vessel.

"Ships of assize" are twice mentioned; by which were probably meant vessels that had been registered, or vessels of a specified tonnage. In the year 1214, the constable of the Tower of London was commanded to allow all merchants of the King's dominions to depart with their merchandize in whatever ships they pleased, and to go to any part of his dominions, taking from them sufficient security

[a] "Malum magnæ navis." Rot. Claus. p. 234.

[b] "Unam virgam de aliquâ navium nostrarum quæ in portu vestro sunt." Ibid. p. 237.

[c] "Virgam magnæ navis domini regis." Ibid. p. 243.

[d] Rot. Claus. p. 156.

[e] Ibid. 17 John, p. 250.

[f] Ibid. p. 238.

that they would not go to the lands of the King's enemies; but, if they wished to go to such countries, they were not to be permitted to take with them any ships unless they were of "assize."[a] The constable was also instructed to allow all merchants arrested in his bailiwick, except those of Flanders and St. Omer, to depart with their merchandize in ships of "assize,"[b] paying the usual customs.

Ships are said to have been strengthened,[c] and repaired;[d] and payment of the costs were made under the inspection of William de Wrotham, on the evidence of four persons that the expense had been properly incurred. Vessels intended to carry horses or other animals were directed to be well "clayed," that is, furnished with a kind of hurdle, for horses and other animals,[e] and to be provided with "bridges,"[f] or large gangboards, for landing them. Not many names of galleys or of the other English vessels in the reign of King John are recorded. A ship of the Earl of Devon was called "the Falcon;" the notice of which, as well as some other documents, show that noblemen had ships of their own, which they used for carrying the produce of their estates to sea-ports, and bringing back necessaries, as the Falcon was sent to

[a] "Non abducant naves nisi de assisâ." Rot. Claus. p. 211.

[b] "Cum mercaturis suis in navibus de assisâ." Ibid.

[c] In 1210. Six marks were advanced to Roger Wacelin for the entire preparation of his ship, which had been "roborata," besides six other marks of the King's gift. Rot. de Præstito, p. 175.

[d] Rot. Claus. p. 103.

[e] Rot. Liberate, 5 John, p. 82; "Navem bonam et securam et bene claiatam." In 1223, the Sheriff of Southampton was ordered to cause 500 "cleias" for ships, to be made of branches of oak and underwood, each being seven feet long and five broad. Rot. Claus. pp. 556, 570.

[f] "Omnes naves quas ibi præparari faciatis et atornari *cleiis* et *pontibus*." Rot. Claus. 15 John, p. 158.

the Isle of Wight with corn.[a] A ship of the Crusaders was called the "Pilgrim," and another the "Paradise."[b] One of the ships captured by the English at Barfleur in 1212 was called "the Countess;"[c] the ship commanded by Michael the Bear was "the Braose,"[d] evidently named after the powerful Baron de Braose, whose tragical history is so well known; and another, called "the Grim," derived her name from her owner.[e] The galley "Portnuvel," or Newport, was probably so called from the place where she was built.[f]

Ships and goods captured from the enemy became the property of the King; but prize-money seems to have been as ancient as the English Navy itself, though the amount depended entirely upon the Sovereign's bounty. In March 1205, the King granted to the galleymen of the galleys, which Thomas of Galway brought into his service, the moiety of what they had captured from his enemies; and he promised them other recompense according to their services, as he should be advised by his justiciary, so that they should be well rewarded.[g] About the same time the crews of two galleys received one hundred marks, and were promised a moiety of such prizes as they might take from the enemy;[h] and, on another occasion, 100*l.* were advanced to the mariners and galleymen out of the money produced by the sale of the goods of a ship which, coming from Nor-

[a] Rot. Pat. 14 John, p. 98; and 5 John, p. 31.
[b] Vide p. 153, *post.*
[c] Rot. Claus. 14 John, p. 117.
[d] Rot. Pat. p. 90.
[e] Vide p. 134, *ante.*
[f] Rot. de Præstito, 12 John, p. 176.
[g] "Medietatem lucri sui quod facient super inimicos nostros." Rot. Pat. 5 John, p. 51.
[h] "Concedimus eis medietatem lucrorum suorum quod facient super inimicos nostros." Ibid. p. 52.

mandy, was captured in Wales.[a] The King disposed of prizes as he thought proper; retaining some vessels for his own use, and bestowing the remainder on his favourite or deserving subjects. A French ship, called "the Countess," was given to his natural brother, the Earl of Salisbury.[b] Of the other prizes, the best ship was to be reserved for the King; the second best was given to Richard de Mariscis, Archdeacon of Northumberland; and the third best to William de Briwere.[c] Philip de Ulecot and the Archdeacon of Durham had also ships given to them;[d] and the cloth taken in the vessels at Barfleur in 1212 was directed to be sent to the King at the Tower of London.[e]

Though the King's galleys and ships were usually manned by impressment, seamen were sometimes enlisted. In May 1206 the King commanded Geoffrey de Lucy, and Hascuil de Suleny, and his other subjects in the Norman isles, to send him one knight, and one clerk, qualified to induce steersmen and mariners to enter his service.[f] The absolute controul which the

[a] Rot. de Præstito, 12 John, p. 227.

[b] Rot. Claus. 14 John, p. 118.

[c] Ibid. p. 118. [d] Ibid. p. 120.

[e] Rot. Pat. p. 29; Rot. Claus. p. 117.

[f] Rot. Claus. p. 70[b].

"Rex Gaufrido de Lucy et Hascuill' de Suleny et cæteris fidelibus suis in insulis, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod statim visis litteris istis mittatis cum duabus galiis quas penes vos habetis ad navagium quod venit de Rupella apud Sanctum Mathæum vel alibi ubi inveniri possit unum militem et unum clericum discretos et rationabiles, qui sapienter et callidę loqui sciant cum sturmannis et marinellis, et commovere et inducere eos ad veniendum festinanter in servicium nostrum, et ipsos de pace nostra et benevolentia et salvo conductu securos facere, et imbreviare omnia nomina regionum et villarum unde naves fuerint quas ipsi invenerint, et nomina sturmannorum et catallorum unde ipsæ carcatæ fuerint. Omnia autem imbreviamenta quæ inde fecerint, faciatis habere dilecto et fideli nostro W. de Wrotham Archidiacono Cantuar. quam cito prædicti nuncii ad vos in insulas redierint. Et mittatis nobis apud Portesmuth quam citius poteritis navem Alani junioris de Sorham et alias quas penes vos haberetis."

Crown exercised over seamen is strikingly shown by a mandate to the sailors on the coast of Wales in 1208, forbidding them to make any voyage to Ireland or elsewhere for any purpose whatever, but to obey the person sent to communicate to them the King's commands that they should repair to Ilfracombe by Midlent to convey men to Ireland. The penalty for disobedience was expressed in unequivocal terms: "Know for certain that if you act contrary to this, we will cause you and the masters[a] of your vessels to be hanged, and all your goods to be seized for our use.[b] In March 1208 the barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to choose the best and strongest men they could find, well armed, to man the King's galleys, as William de Wrotham would explain to them.[c] The crews of ships consisted of "rectors" or masters; "sturmanni," steersmen or pilots; "galiotæ," galleymen; "marinelli," mariners; and "nautæ," sailors. It would appear that the large galleys and ships had usually from thirty-five to forty men, as there were only two hundred and seventy mariners in the five galleys and three large ships which were sent to the isles of Guernsey and Jersey in April 1206.[d] Some galleys must however have had seventy men, and a captain or other officer superior to the usual "rector" or master; for in April 1205, when the King lent two of his galleys to the inhabitants of Yarmouth and other sea-ports in Norfolk and Suffolk, they were ordered to select two "head masters" to navigate them,[e] and two others who were to have the superior

[a] "dominorum."
[b] Rot. Claus. p. 106.
[c] Rot. Pat. p. 80.
[d] Rot. Claus. p. 69.
[e] "Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eligatis duos magistros rectores ad eas regendas, et duos alios qui superiorem curam inde habeant, de"

charge thereof, in all of whom they were to have full confidence, and for whose faithful service they were to give security. They were moreover required to provide one hundred and forty good seamen to go in them.[a] No direct evidence has been found of the wages of the masters or steersmen. It may be inferred that they were well paid, considering the low value of money, as two galleymen received six pence a day,[b] and mariners three pence.[c] Before sailing, the men received eight days' wages, and the amount for eight more days was delivered at the same time to the person appointed to pay them.[d] Some idea may be formed of the expense of seamen's wages from the fact that in 1210, when King John went to Ireland, 6,910*l.* were paid for that purpose;[e] besides 40*l.* to seven knights, soldiers, and archers, serving in the galleys,[f] ten marks for two galleys sent with the King's commands,[g] and 4*l.* which the King himself gave to Richard of Lon-

quibus omnibus plene confidatis, &c. Et præterea provideatis septies viginti probos marinellos ad eas ducendas." Rot. Pat. p. 52.

[a] Mr. Hardy states in his Preface to the Close Rolls, p. xlv, that steersmen received seven pence a day, but he does not refer to his authority. The only payments recorded to masters were prests, or advances upon their wages: thus, in June 1205, Thomas of Dover, William Fitz-Suanild, and John Clerk of Hythe, three masters of the King's galleys of the Cinque Ports, received 15*l.* in prest upon their wages; and Thomas of Gloucester was paid 5*l.* in prest for the galley of Bristol, and two other persons the same sum for the galley of Ipswich. Rot. de Prœstito, R. 271.

[b] In June 1205, the King commanded Thomas Fitz-Nicholas, galleyman, and two galleymen who were with him, to be paid 6*d.* a day each while they continued in the King's service at Southampton. Rot. Claus. p. 39.

[c] In April 1206, the sum of 138*l.* was issued to pay two hundred and seventy-five mariners, "marinelli," for forty days, who were sent to the Isles in five galleys and three large ships. Rot. Claus p. 69.—Knights were paid 2*s.* per diem, crossbowmen 3*d.* to 6*d.*, horse archers with one horse 1*s.* 3*d.*, foot soldiers and miners 7*d.* Hardy's Preface to the Close Rolls, p. xix. Wheat was then on the average 60*s.* a quarter.

[d] Rot. Claus. p. 229.

[e] Rot. de Prœstito, pp. 173—230.

[f] Ibid. p. 179.

[g] "euntes in nuncium." Ibid. 194.

don, the master of the great galley.[a] The crews were apparently found in provisions and wine, as payments were made for herrings, bacon, and other articles of food, sent to the King's ships.[b] Clothing was probably provided by themselves, and the King's gift of six robes to some galleymen of Bayonne, in 1205,[c] may have been an unusual act of favour, as there is no other notice of the kind. Men who were wounded in the King's service appear to have received pensions; for, in 1202, Alan le Waleis, who had lost his hand on some occasion, was assigned a penny a day, and, until it was paid, he was to be lodged in an abbey.[d]

It is remarkable that there should not be the slightest allusion to an admiral or commander of the fleets or ships; nor, except in the single instance which has been noticed,[e] to any other officer than the master and steersman.

The principal management of the Navy was for many years entrusted to a priest called William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, who was designated "Keeper of the King's Ships," or "Keeper of the King's Galleys," and also "Keeper of the Seaports"[f] and, though one or two other persons bore the same titles, Wrotham seems to have been the chief officer. His duties, though very important, appear to have been entirely administrative; but, as no commission is known to have been issued to him, his

[a] Rot. de Præstito, p. 230.

[b] Rot. Claus. p. 71. Ibid. 15 John, p. 158. In Nov. 1206, a ship laden with two hundred measures of wine, "modiis," with the sailors' drink, "cum beveragio marinellorum," was ordered to be exempted from all customs. Rot. Pat. p. 68.

[c] Rot. Claus. p. 48.

[d] Rot. de Liberate, 3 John, p. 32.

[e] Vide p. 142, *ante*.

[f] Rot. Pat. 7 John, p. 62. He and Reginald de Cornhill were then called Keepers of the King's ports and of all his galleys.

functions can only be inferred from the orders he received. His title implies that he was responsible for the safe custody of the King's galleys and ships with all their stores; and the Royal precepts were directed to him for the employment and disposal of ships, the purchase of stores, and the payments of wages. Freightage of ships, and engines for military purposes, were also under his superintendence; and in 1214 he ordered ropes to be sent to Portsmouth for the engines for throwing stones, called "petrariæ" or "perrieres," and mangonels.[a] When any ships were wanted for service, Wrotham was commanded to take the necessary measures for their equipment;[b] and he also superintended the construction of buildings for naval purposes.[c] Of Wrotham's history little is known besides the offices he filled and the duties he performed; which prove that he must have been a man of considerable ability, and that he fully enjoyed the confidence of his Sovereign. He was made Archdeacon of Taunton[d] in 1204; and, though his services were rewarded by grants of several rectories, he never obtained a mitre, and died in 1217 or 1218.[e]

The other functionaries connected with naval affairs were Reginald and William de Cornhill, Geoffrey de Lucy, Henry Fitz-Count, Enjuger de Bohun, and Geoffrey de Lutterel. Both Reginald and William de Cornhill, who appear to have been priests, (and the latter became Archdeacon of Huntingdon,) were constantly employed in the King's service. Geoffrey de Lutterel, who was a distinguished baron, died in

[a] Rot. Claus. p. 159.
[b] Ibid. p. 155.
[c] Ibid. p. 117.
[d] Le Neve (Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ) includes him among the archdeacons of Canterbury, but that title is never attributed to him in records.
[e] Rot. Claus. 352[b].

1218. Geoffrey de Lucy, who was, no doubt, a member of the baronial family of that name, filled many important offices, and was for some time, as well in the reign of Henry the Third as of John, apparently governor of Jersey, Guernsey, and the other Norman islands. On several occasions he commanded galleys sent in pursuit of the King's enemies and pirates. Fitz-Count would seem, from his name, to have been a natural son of an earl, and probably of one of the Royal family, as he was highly favoured by the King, and was evidently a person of considerable importance. Enjuger de Bohun, who was so much connected with naval matters in 1215, was the ancestor of the Barons Bohun of Midhurst in Sussex. Of William de Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, the King's natural brother, and the most eminent soldier of his age, who commanded the fleet at Damme, as well as of the celebrated Eustace the Monk, some account will be given in a subsequent page.

The connection of ecclesiastics with shipping is deserving of attention, as it is another proof of the influence which the Church possessed in every department of the State. Two archdeacons, and another priest, called Philip de Ulecot, obtained gifts of ships; and, when two galleys were required for Ireland in 1215, the Archbishop of Dublin was ordered to provide and send them to the Earl Marshal at Pembroke.[a] The only office connected with the Navy, besides those of keeper of the King's ships and keeper of the Ports, to which any reference has been found in records, and that only on one occasion, is the "Marshalsea of ships." The notice of it affords, however, no infor-

[a] Rot. Claus. p. 214.

mation of its nature, as all that occurs on the subject is a payment of money "to John de Cunde, of the Marshalsea of ships," to buy a horse for the King's use.[a]

Strong evidence of the progress of the English Navy in the reign of John is afforded by the construction of a kind of dockyard at Portsmouth. In May 1212, the Sheriff of Southampton was commanded to cause the docks[b] at Portsmouth to be enclosed with a strong wall, in the manner which the Archdeacon of Taunton would point out, for the preservation of the King's ships and galleys; and the Sheriff was also to cause penthouses to be erected for their stores and tackle.[c] This was to be done immediately, lest the galleys or their stores should be injured in the ensuing winter.[d] No addition or alteration seems to have been made to warlike weapons in the time of John; but he enlisted into his service, being perhaps the first English Sovereign who did so, the famous cross-bow men of Genoa, who received fourpence halfpenny per day for their wages.[e] Commanders of galleys are mentioned; and, as they were doubtless the best English seamen of their time, their names ought to have a place in naval history.

In 1208, the steersmen or masters appointed to the command of the King's galleys were Alan Junior of Shoreham, who is presumed to have been the son of Alan Trenchemer, Walter Scott, Vincent of Hastings,

[a] Rot. Claus. 17 John, p. 244. "Mandatum est fratri Rogero quod habere faciat Johanni de Cunde de Marescalcia navium denarios ad unum equum emendum ad opus domini Regis. Teste apud Langar xxviii. die Dec. (anno regni nostri xvii.)"

[b] "Exclusa."

[c] "Ateiuriamenta," literally "attire"; *i. e.* masts, rigging, sails, oars, and everything belonging to the galleys.

[d] Rot. Claus. p. 117.

[e] Rot. de Liberate, 5 John, pp. 78, 79, 100.

and Wymund of Winchelsea.[a] In 1210, Richard of London was the master of the King's great galley;[b] and three of the masters of the galleys of the Cinque Ports were Thomas of Dover, William Fitz-Suanild, and John Clerk of Hythe.[c]

So much light is thrown upon the shipping and naval warfare of the early part of the thirteenth century by Villehardouin's account of the conquest of Constantinople by the French and Venetians in 1204,[d] that it is desirable to give his statements on the subject; for there was then little difference in the form, size, or equipment of the vessels of England and those of other nations. Speaking of the departure of the fleet, which sailed from Venice in 1202, and which is before said to have consisted of ships, galleys, and vissiers,[e] Villehardouin observes, "The ships and vissiers of the barons then set sail; and filled as they were with arms and provisions, knights and sergeants, the shields suspended along the sides, and the gay banners displayed from the turrets of the vessels, by God! it was a most glorious prospect. There were on board three hundred perrieres and mangonels, and engines of every description necessary for the assault of cities. A nobler armament never sailed from port."[f]

The banners of the Crusaders are supposed to have

[a] Rot. Claus. p. 110.

[b] Rot. de Præstito, p. 230.

[c] Ibid.

[d] "The Chronicle of Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne and Romania, concerning the Conquest of Constantinople by the French and Venetians, anno MCCIV. Translated, with Notes, by T. Smith," 8vo. 1829, from the edition of Du Fresne, folio, 1657. Though Mr. Smith's translation has been generally used, some material variations have been made, as he has followed the modern version of Du Fresne instead of the original.

[e] This word is always rendered by Du Fresne "palanders," which Mr. Smith has followed. A learned note on the ships called vissiers occurs among Du Fresne's illustrations of the text.

[f] "At cum propius in eminentiis puppium vexilla crucis et alia Chris-

contained the cross, which those of each nation represented in a different colour. The fleet anchored before Zara in Sclavonia, intending to attack the town. "The swiftest vessels had come before the city, and anchored in expectation of the others: and in the morning, which was bright and clear, the galleys and vissiers, and the ships which were behind, joined them, and took the port by force, breaking the strong chain at its entrance, and approached the land in such order that the harbour lay between the city and themselves. Then might you have seen many a knight and many a sergeant leap from the galleys, and many a good steed and rich pavilion landed from the vissiers."[a] That vissiers carried the horses of the army, is shown by many other passages. When the fleet reached Constantinople, a fence or bulwark of shields was ranged along the sides of the vessels;[b] and the time appointed for the assault having arrived, "the knights embarked with their war-horses on board the vissiers." . . . . "Those who were of less note in the fight betook themselves to the large ships, and the galleys were all armed and prepared." . . . . "The trumpets sounded, and every galley towed a vissier to facilitate its passage."[c] . . . . "The mariners then began to open the ports of the vissiers, and let down the bridges, and the horses were taken out."[d] After relating the capture of the castle of Galata, and saying that the port of Constantinople had been carried by assault, a passage occurs, which is remarkable from showing that the French knew little of naval warfare:—"The next day the ships, the vessels,[e] the gal-

tianæ religionis insignia conspiciantur, clamor ingens tollitur." Hist. Hier.

[a] Villehardouin, p. 37.

[b] Ibid. p. 59.

[c] Ibid. p. 67.

[d] Ibid. p. 68.

[e] "Vaissels," and in other places

leys, and the vissiers entered the port, and the Barons assembled in council to deliberate what next should be done,—whether they should assault the city by land or by sea. The Venetians proposed to plant ladders upon the vessels, and to assault the city from the sea; but the French said they did not so well know how to serve at sea,[a] but with their arms and horses would fight fearlessly on the shore. It was therefore decided that the Venetians should attack the city from the sea, and the Barons and Pilgrims from the land."[b] . . . . "The Venetians by sea continued at work in ships, and vessels, and galleys, planted their ladders, their mangonels, and their perrieres, and nobly prepared everything for their part of the assault."[c] The assault is then vigorously described; and it is said that the walls were crowded with Danes and English, that is, with the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons who fled from England at the Norman conquest.[d] The assault failed: but the Duke of Venice and the Venetians had not been idle; "for their ships, and vissiers, and vessels, placed in a line which extended more than three bowshots, began to approach the towers and the wall which stretched along the shore. The mangonels were in the ships and vissiers, and the flights of arrows and quarrels were numberless; yet those within the city valiantly defended their posts. The ladders on the ships approached the walls so closely, that in many places it became a combat of sword and lance, and the shouts were so great that they were enough to shake sea and earth; but the galleys, notwithstanding, could

"vaissiaus," evidently distinct vessels from ships, galleys, and vissiers.

[a] "Disoient que il ne savoient mie si bien aider sor mer com il savoient." [b] Ibid. p. 70.

[c] Villehardouin, p. 71.

[d] Ibid. p. 75.

find no opportunity of reaching the land. . . . The Duke of Venice, old and blind as he was, stood upon the prow[a] of his galley, with the gonfanon of St. Mark displayed before him, urging his people to push on to the shore on peril of his high displeasure. By wondrous exertions they ran the galley ashore, and, leaping out, bore the gonfanon of St. Mark before him on the land. When the Venetians saw the gonfanon of St. Mark on the land, and that their Duke's galley had been the first to touch the ground, they in the vissiers pushed on in shame and emulation; and the men sprang to land in rivalry with each other, and commenced a furious assault."[b] It is evident from the following extract that fire-ships are not a modern invention. "Thus did the war proceed until mid-winter, when the Greeks devised this stratagem: Having selected seventeen great vessels, they filled them with dry wood, pitch, and other combustibles,[c] and waited for a wind which should blow towards the fleet of the Pilgrims. One night, at mid-night, they set fire to the vessels, and, loosing the sails to the wind, the flames blazed aloft, and the whole land appeared to be on fire. In this state they were driven towards the fleet of the Pilgrims, who from all parts ran to arms on the first alarm. The Venetians, and all who had ships of their own, hastened to their vessels, striving with all their might to save them. And I, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, the author of this work, declare, that never on the sea did people do more than the Venetians; for leaping into their galleys and

[a] "El chief."
[b] Villehardouin, p. 76.
[c] "Granz merriens et des prises et des etoppes et de poix et des tonians."

barges of the ships, and grappling the fire-vessels with long hooks, they dragged them by force out of the port, in defiance of the Greeks, and, towing them into the current, sent them burning down the Strait of St. George. Multitudes of the Greeks were assembled on the shore to behold the sight, and their shouts were enough to shake the solid earth. Some jumped into the barges to obstruct the Pilgrims who were endeavouring to save their ships, and many were grievously wounded."[a]

In April 1204, Villehardouin says, "the Croisaders still lay before Constantinople, and were preparing their perrieres and all the military engines which are used in the assault of cities; and were planting their mangonels upon their ships and vissiers, and were raising ladders against the yards of the vessels, which were very lofty."[b] .... "The fleet was manned, and prepared and furnished with provisions for the whole army; and, on the Thursday after Mid-lent, the Pilgrims embarked in the ships, and the horses were carried on board the vissiers. Each division embarked in its proper vessels, and the whole fleet was drawn up in a line, the ships being separated from the galleys and vissiers. It was a noble prospect, for the line extended more than half a French league. On Friday morning the ships and galleys and other vessels approached the city, and commenced a vigorous assault. In many places the Pilgrims leaped ashore, and charged up to the very walls. In others, the ladders on the ships were brought so near, that those who mounted them, and the soldiers who defended the walls and towers, fought hand to hand with their lances. This

[a] Villehardouin, p. 95. [b] Ibid. p. 101.

hot assault continued in more than a hundred places until near noon, when, for their sins, the Pilgrims were repulsed, and those who had advanced from the galleys and the vissiers were driven back to them by main force."[a]

A council being held as to their future proceedings, "some thought it advisable to make an attempt upon that side of the city which was less strongly fortified; but the Venetians, who were most conversant with naval warfare, were of opinion that the current would bear them so rapidly down the strait, that they should not be able to bring up their vessels." .... "After much debating, it was resolved that they should return to the assault with the ships on which the ladders were mounted linked in pairs together. This expedient would bring two ships to the attack of a single tower; for it is evident that on the preceding day, when ship was opposed to tower, the force on the towers far exceeded the assailants in number, and the odds were in consequence too great." .... "Each ship attacked the place before it, and the earth trembled with the shouts. The battle had continued a long time, when the Lord raised a northerly wind which drove the ships nearer to the shore. Two ships, the Pilgrim and the Paradise, fastened together, approached a tower, one on one side, the other on the other, as God and the winds directed. The ladder of the Pilgrim touched the tower; and in an instant a Venetian, and a knight of France called Andrew d'Urboise, sprang upon the tower, and were followed by other warriors. The warders of the tower were discomfited and fled. When the knights who were on

[a] Villehardouin, p. 103.

board the vissiers beheld this sight, they leaped upon the shore, and, raising their ladders against the open wall, mounted them in spite of every obstacle, and possessed themselves of four towers more. The men of the ships, the galleys, and the vissiers drove on in strife who should be foremost, and, forcing open three of the city gates, entered, and, mounting their horses, rode to the place where the Emperor Mourzuphles was encamped."[a]

No act of King John's could have been more important with reference to the naval supremacy of England than the ordinance which he is said to have issued at Hastings in the second year of his reign, 1200, enjoining every ship that met his fleet at sea to lower her sails at the command of its admiral or his lieutenant. This ordinance[b] seems to have been first published by Selden, who thus translates it: "If the governor or commander of the King's navy, in his naval expeditions, shall meet on the sea any ships whatsoever, either laden or empty, that shall refuse to strike their sails at the command of the King's governor or admiral, or his lieutenant, but make resistance against them which belong to his fleet, that then they are to be reputed enemies if they may be taken; yea, and their ships and goods be confiscated as the goods of enemies; and that though the masters or owners of

[a] Villehardouin, pp. 104—106.

[b] "If any ship shall 'encontre sur la mer aucunes nefs ou vesseaulx charges ou voide qui ne vevillent avaler et abeisser leurs triefs au commandement du lieutenant du Roy, ou de l'amiral du Roy ou son lieutenant, mais combatant encontre ceulx de la flote, que, silz puent estre pris, quils soient reputez come enemies, et leur nefs, vesseaulx, et biens pris et forfaits come biens des enemies; tout fois que les maistres ou possessours d'iceulx voudroient venir apres et alleguer mesmes les nefs, vesseaulx, et biens estre des amies du Roy nostre seigneur; et que la menye estant en iceulx soient chastiez per emprisonement de leur corps pur leur rebelleté par discretion.'" Selden, Mare Clausum, p. 401.

the ships shall allege afterwards that the same ships and goods do belong to the friends and allies of our Lord the King, but that the persons which shall be found in this kind of ships are to be punished with imprisonment at discretion for their rebellion." To this Selden adds: "It was accounted treason if any ship whatsoever had not acknowledged the dominion of the King of England in his own sea, by striking sail: and they were not to be protected upon account of amity who should in any wise presume to do the contrary. Penalties were also appointed by the King of England in the same manner as if mention were made concerning a crime committed in some territory of his island."[a]

As this ordinance is the earliest documentary evidence referred to by any author in support of a right which was proudly exercised by the English Navy for many centuries, it is proper to inquire into its authenticity.

Selden's authority is a manuscript "commentary on affairs concerning the Admiral."[b] In Sir John Borough's "Sovereignty of the British Seas," written in 1633, and first published in 1651,[c] the ordinance is referred to as being "in a collection of Naval laws;" but, in the Latin original of that treatise,[d] its authority is said to be "a manuscript in the possession of Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiralty.[e]

[a] Mare Clausum, p. 402.

[b] "MS. Commentar. de rebus Admiral. fol. Fol. 28."

[c] 12mo. The manuscript is thus quoted, "Inter leges marinas sub fine."

[d] Harleian MS. 4314.

[e] "Inter leges Marinas MSS. penes D. Hen. Martin Judicem admiralitatis finali." A copy of the ordinance occurs also in folio 26 of the Harleian MS. 4314, where it is thus headed: "In the booke called the Soveraignty of the Seas, folio 63." Molloy, in his book "De Jure Maritimo," ed. 1769, vol. i. p. 110, quotes it with no

Prynne,[a] who wrote many years after Selden, printed the ordinance from "the Black Book of the Admiralty," which he appears to have seen,[b] and says that in that book "there is another sea ordinance of King John's registered, made at Hastings; and this note likewise, that it shall be lawful for merchants, in case of necessity, to sell parcels of merchandises for their expenses, if any custom happen to be required or exacted for them, by an ordinance of John, formerly King of England, at Hastings,[c] which hath continued in force and use in most of our Kings' reigns since, and is grounded on the laws of Oleron."[d]

As has been before observed,[e] the Black Book of the Admiralty cannot now be found; nor has it been ascertained where the manuscripts to which Selden and Borough refer are preserved. It is obvious, from the manner in which Prynne quotes the "Black Book," that these ordinances as well as the other early records therein were not contemporary entries, and it is no less clear that Selden's authority was a modern compilation. The internal evidence of the document is not favourable to its authenticity. In no contemporary record has the term "King's Lieutenant," or "King's Admiral," or "his Lieutenant," been found. The word used for "sail" is "tref;" which term did not mean the ordi-

other reference than "Marine Laws sub fine," in the reign of John.

[a] Animadversions on Lord Coke's First Institute, p. 108.

[b] Black Book of the Admiralty, p. 59. It is probable that this was the MS. which Sir John Borough says was in the possession of Sir Henry Martin, the Judge of that court.

[c] "Et nota quod liceat mercatoribus, necessitate exigente, vendere parcellas mercandisarum pro expensis suis, si contingat esse aliqua custuma pro eis petenda aut exigenda, per ordinationem Johannis quondam Regis Angliæ apud Hastings." Prynne's Animadversions, p. 108.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Vide page 73, *ante*.

nary sail of a vessel, but a particular kind of sail, and apparently a storm-sail, or one used in bad weather.[a] Moreover, and which in itself forms a strong presumption against the genuineness of the document, King John does not appear to have been at Hastings in the second year of his reign, nor at any other time.[b] Under all these circumstances, this remarkable ordinance is, to say the least, very apocryphal; inasmuch as it was not a contemporary entry in the book where it was found; it is not corroborated by any other document;[c] its exact date is not stated; its purport is improbable; many of its expressions are suspicious; and the place where it is stated to have been made, does not agree with what is positively known.

King John is said, soon after his accession, to have given great encouragement to foreign commerce, by declaring that all merchants, of what nation soever, should, with their merchandize, have safe-conduct to

[a] In the "Roman de Brut," the crew of a ship are said to have "deherneschier *veilles* et *trefs*," *i. e.* to have prepared, or got ready, sails and trefs. A long commentary on the word "tref" occurs in Monsieur Jals' "Archéologie Navale;" Paris, 1840, tome I. 176-177. I regret that this learned work did not sooner fall under my observation. The industry and ability which Monsieur Jals displays render his labours an honour to the French marine, and justly obtained for his researches the distinction of being published "par ordre du Roy."

[b] The second year of the reign of King John began on the 18th of May 1200, and ended on the 2nd of May 1201; and the Itinerary of that monarch, by Mr. Hardy, shows that he was in France from the 18th of May to the 1st of October, and that he was at Fremantle, in Hampshire, on the 6th of that month; after which time he was in different parts of England, but never at Hastings, nor even in Sussex. Though his locality on some days has not been ascertained, the places at which he was when the interval begins, and where he is next known to have been, render it very improbable that he should have visited Hastings.

[c] Both Sir John Borough and Prynne were keepers of the Records in the Tower, and they had access to, and were well acquainted with, all the muniments of the Kingdom; yet neither of those writers, nor Selden, nor any subsequent author, mentions a contemporary copy of this ordinance, nor any document of the period in which the supposed right is even alluded to.

pass into and repass from England, and to enjoy while there the same peace and security as the merchants of England were allowed in the countries from which such merchants came.[a]

No alteration was made in the banners borne by the ships or armies of England until the reign of King Edward the Third.

[a] Writs to the Mayor and Commonalty of London, and to all the Sheriffs of England, witnessed by Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, at Kineford, on the 5th of April in the 1st of John, *i. e.* 1200. Printed in Hakluyt, ed. 1809, vol. i. p. 143, "from the Records in the Tower;" but the Close Rolls, in which this document would probably have been entered, are not preserved before the 6th of John.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1199 TO 1217.—ACCESSION OF KING JOHN.—EXPEDITIONS TO NORMANDY.—NAVAL PROCEEDINGS TO PREVENT INVASION.—THE KING GOES TO IRELAND.—VESSELS CAPTURED ON THE COAST OF NORMANDY.—GALLEYS SENT AGAINST THE WELSH.—SEA-FIGHT WITH THE FRENCH IN THE PORT OF DAMME.—EXPEDITION TO POITOU.—JOHN POPULAR WITH SAILORS.—A REMARKABLE SHIPWRECK.—VESSELS PROHIBITED FROM GOING TO SCOTLAND, AND SCOTTISH SHIPS ARRESTED.—THE CHANNEL FILLED WITH FRENCH VESSELS.—ARRIVAL OF PRINCE LOUIS OF FRANCE WITH A LARGE FLEET.—DEATH OF KING JOHN.

AT the death of King Richard, JOHN was at Beaufort in Anjou; but, considering his title to the crown superior to that of his nephew Prince Arthur, he made a truce with France, and landed at Shoreham in Sussex on the 25th of May 1199. He was crowned at Westminster on the 27th of that month, and became from the choice of the people, rather than from hereditary right, KING OF ENGLAND.[a] Having established himself on the throne, and raised an army, he collected enough ships to convey it to Normandy, and embarked at Shoreham for Dieppe about the middle of June. He remained abroad until the 27th of February in the following year, when he arrived at Portsmouth from Barfleur. John then proceeded to York, with the intention of meeting the King of Scotland; but, as William did not keep the appointment, he hastened to Portsmouth, where he embarked on the 28th of

A. D. 1199.

A. D. 1200.

[a] Matthew Paris, 138; Trivet. Annales, p. 139.

A. D. 1200. April, and reached Valognes in Normandy on the 1st
May. of May.[a] His contest with King Philip terminated in May 1200, when a peace was concluded between
August. the two monarchs. In August John was married, at Angouleme, to Isabel daughter of Aymer Count of
October. Angouleme, and early in October he brought his bride to England.[b] Nothing has been found to show in what vessels the King and his retinue crossed the Channel on those occasions, but probably in some of his own ships.

A. D. 1201. About Easter in 1201 John commanded the Earls and Barons of England to be at Portsmouth, with horses and arms, at Whitsuntide, to accompany him across the sea; but, when they had assembled, he allowed most of them to pay him the money they would have expended in that service, and to return to their homes, sending only William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and the Constable of Chester, with two hundred men-at-arms, to the defence of Normandy.

In May the King and Queen embarked at Portsmouth, intending to proceed to Normandy; but John landed at the Isle of Wight, while his consort went on board another ship, which conveyed her to her destination. The King returned to Portsmouth, and a few days after sailed for Normandy. Early in June he had a secret interview with the King of France, near the isle of Andely, whence at Philip's request he went to Paris.[c] The harmony between the two Kings was, however, of short duration; for Philip soon gave

[a] Matt. Paris, p. 139; Hoveden, 456; Hardy's Preface to Patent Rolls, p. xlv.

[b] Hoveden, 457. Matthew Paris says, the King landed at Dover on the 8th of October; but the place of his arrival is doubtful, and he was certainly at Fremantle in Hampshire on the 6th of October. See Preface to Patent Rolls, p. xlv.

[c] Hoveden, pp. 465b, 466. Matthew Paris, 144, says, the King and

his support to the confederated Barons, who, under the Count de la Marche, were ravaging Anjou and Normandy.

In August 1202 the fortress of Mirabeau, in which Eleanor the Queen Dowager resided, was besieged by her grandson, Arthur Duke of Brittany. John hastened to his mother's relief; and, after a sharp conflict, the town fell into his hands, and his nephew was made prisoner. The young prince was sent to the castle of Falaise, and, having soon after disappeared, King John was suspected of being his murderer. The Bretons, determining to be revenged for the loss of their prince, appealed to the French King, who, as John's superior lord, summoned him to prove his innocence before the Peers of France; but, refusing to obey the mandate, he was declared guilty, and adjudged to forfeit all the lands which he held of Philip by homage. Normandy, invaded on one side by the French, and on the other by the Bretons, made but a feeble resistance; and, on the 5th of December 1203, John embarked at Barfleur for England.[a] These events were attended by several proceedings of a naval character. In July 1202 the King informed the barons of the Cinque Ports that he understood the King of France was preparing vessels to convey provisions by sea to his army at Arques, and they were therefore commanded, on their oath and duty, so to guard the sea that no provisions should be sent in that manner. If the barons met two of the King's galleys which were at sea, they

A. D. 1202. August.

July.

Queen went together to Normandy. Mr. Hardy's Itinerary of King John shows that he was at Portsmouth on the 14th of May, on the 2nd of June at Bonneville sur Touque, and from the 9th to the 11th in the isle of Andely.

[a] Matthew Paris, p. 146. He arrived at Portsmouth on the 7th of December.

A. D. 1202. were to speak with the commanders, who would do whatever they were told was expedient for his honour.[a] On the 13th of August, the bailiffs of Barfleur and Estreham were ordered to find "good and secure ships" to convey the prisoners taken in Mirabeau to England.[b] Eleanor, sister of Prince Arthur, the King's niece, "the beauty of Brittany," and two hundred knights, among whom was Hugh de Lusignan, brother of Guy King of Jerusalem, were captured on that occasion, part of whom were sent to this country. The barbarity of the age, and the cruelty of John's character, are alike shown by the manner in which these captives were treated. Eleanor was confined for forty years in Bristol castle; while the unfortunate knights, loaded with irons, were placed in different castles in England and Normandy,[c] and twenty-two of them were starved to death in Corfe castle.[d]

A. D. 1203. Early in 1203, two galleys belonging to William de Braose, a distinguished baron, and commanded by John de Bucy, took a ship of Orford laden with wine, which wine the King acknowledged to have received on the 4th of May;[e] but, as the ship did not belong to the enemy, the cargo was probably forfeited for non-payment of customs, or from some other irregularity.

Though driven from his continental dominions, John took the earliest means for recovering his authority

A. D. 1204. over them; and towards the end of 1204 he adopted measures for raising an army and collecting a fleet for that purpose. At the beginning of October, knights

[a] Rot. Pat. p. 15.

[b] Rot. Norman. p. 60.

[c] Mr. Hardy has collected many interesting records respecting these prisoners in his Preface to the Patent Rolls.

[d] Hardy's Introduction to the Patent Rolls.

[e] Rot. Pat. p. 29.

and money being about to be sent to Rochelle, the sheriff of Devonshire was ordered to send to Dartmouth three of the best ships that could be procured to defend them on the passage;[a] and the wages of the seamen of the ships conveying the King's knights and servants to Poitou were paid.[b] On the 4th of December the King invited Hilary de Wateville, and his companions, to enter his service with their galleys, and as many followers as they could bring; promising them an honourable reception, and such terms as might be agreed upon with the Archbishop of Canterbury.[c] A. D. 1204.

That shipping might be ready to convey troops across the Channel, an order was issued, early in February 1205, forbidding the bailiffs of the ports to allow any ship, vessel, or boat[d] to depart without the King's special licence; and persons were sent to each place to give effect to his commands.[e] In May in that year, the King's galleymen at Sandwich having detained two ships belonging to the King of Scotland laden with merchandize, they were ordered to be released.[f] At the beginning of June an army and a numerous fleet had assembled at Portsmouth, contrary, so far at least as the ships were concerned, to the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury. John embarked with a few followers on the 13th of that month; but three days after his departure he changed his mind, and put into Studland on the coast of Dorsetshire.[g] He then proceeded to Dartmouth, where A. D. 1205.

[a] Rot. Claus. p. 10.
[b] Ibid. p. 12.
[c] Rot. Pat. p. 48.
[d] "Navis aut navicula vel batellus."
[e] Rot Pat. p. 50.
[f] Rot. Claus. 13th May, p. 33.
[g] Matthew Paris, 148; Wendover, III. 182; who both say that John sailed on the ides of July, instead of June. The error is satisfactorily corrected by Mr. Hardy's Itinerary of King John.

A. D. 1205. he continued a few days, and thence went to Dorchester.[a] John's motive for abandoning his voyage is unknown; but as he levied large sums of money from the earls, barons, knights, and ecclesiastics soon after his return, on the pretence that they would not accompany him in the expedition,[b] he probably put to sea with the expectation of being followed by his fleet and army, and returned because they did not appear. Some sailors of Normandy, under Peter de Auxe, having captured one of the enemy's galleys, and apparently retaken an English ship, the King, in August 1205, thanked them for their services, and directed them to deliver to John de Kemes the galley, with all its stores, as well as the ship, and the three men whom they had in custody.[c]

A. D. 1206. In 1206, John again determined to recover his dominions in Anjou and Normandy, and extensive military arrangements were accordingly made throughout the kingdom. The name of the celebrated Eustace the Monk occurs in England for the first time in April of this year, in relation to his naval exploits. Having, it may be inferred, illegally captured a ship belonging to William le Petit, the King commanded the bailiffs of all the seaports, that, if he did not restore the ship to the owner, as he had ordered him, they were to assist the said Petit in recovering her, wherever she might be found.[d]

The armament destined for Anjou was ready to sail from Portsmouth towards the end of May; and, on the 6th or 7th of June, King John embarked from Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, and landed at

[a] Itinerary, *ut supra*.
[b] Matt. Paris, 148.
[c] Rot. Claus. p. 47[b].
[d] Rot. Pat. p. 62.

Rochelle on the 8th.[a] Shortly after he commanded one thousand silver marks, and all the money (2688*l.* 10*s.*) taken in a cog which ought to have gone to Nismes, to be sent to Anjou for the payment of the knights and soldiers, and of fifty ships and galleys.[b] The King returned to Portsmouth on the 12th of December;[c] from which time, until he went to Ireland, four years after, few naval transactions occurred. A. D. 1206.

In July 1207, the sheriff of Devon was directed to find a good and safe ship, at the smallest possible price, to convey the King's money to Poitou; and he was to take care that no other vessel sailed before it, lest intelligence were brought that the money was coming.[d] A. D. 1207.

The King embarked for Ireland about the middle of June 1210, and landed at Crook, near Waterford, on the 19th or 20th; and he remained in Ireland until the 24th of August following.[e] Though he was accompanied by so large an army that many ships must have been employed in conveying it, little occurs on the subject, except the payment of the wages of their crews.[f] A. D. 1210.

In June 1210, six galleys were sent under Geoffrey de Lucy in search of pirates;[g] and, in May 1212, he and others of the King's officers, knights, and mariners, were commanded to detain all ships coming from Poitou, and to send them with their cargoes to England.[h] According to one chronicler, an English armament in A. D. 1212.

[a] Matthew Paris, 149, who has erroneously written July for June. See King John's Itinerary, and Preface to Patent Rolls.
[b] Rot. Claus. p. 73.
[c] Matt. Paris, 149.
[d] Rot. Claus. p. 89.
[e] Matt. Paris, 160, and Itinerary of King John, *ut supra.*
[f] Vide p. 143, *ante.*
[g] Rot. de Præstito, 12 John, p. 179.
[h] Rot. Claus. p. 117.

A. D. 1212. that year captured many ships, and burnt others, at the mouth of the Seine; and, proceeding to Féchamp, brought away several vessels from that place. It then attacked and burned Dieppe, "and took about twelve prisoners, but lost as many; and so they landed victoriously at Winchelsea."[a] These statements are to some extent supported by the records of that year, which notice the capture of ships and goods at Barfleur and on the coast of Normandy.[b] The aggressions of the Welch, who had taken many of the King's castles, burnt several of his towns, and murdered his subjects, obliged John to enter Wales with a considerable force;[c] and, on the 17th of August 1212, he directed Geoffrey de Lucy to send eighteen galleys to the coast of Llewellyn's territories, to destroy his ships, galleys, and boats, and to harass him in every possible manner. Lucy was also desired to send two galleys, with the King's stores, to Bristol.[d] In November a general arrest of shipping was ordered to be made in several ports for the King's service.[e]

A. D. 1213. Early in 1213, the Pope, after a long controversy with King John, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and exhorted all Christian princes and barons to unite in dethroning him. The King of France eagerly seizing an opportunity so favourable to his own ambition, made large preparations to invade England. Vigorous measures were, however, promptly taken by John for the defence of his dominions. All men capable of bearing arms were summoned to be at

[a] Chron. Dunstaple, I. p. 59.
[b] Rot. Claus. pp. 117, 118. Vide pp. 140, 141, *ante*.
[c] Matt. Paris, 161.
[d] Rot. Claus. pp. 121, 122.
[e] Ibid. p. 127.

Dover by Easter, "for the defence of the King's and their own heads, and the land of England," on pain of being deemed guilty of "culvertage,"[a] of forfeiting what they possessed, and of being condemned to perpetual slavery;[b] and, on the 23rd of March, the bailiffs of all the ports were forbidden to suffer any ship to sail without the King's express authority. They were also directed to send to Portsmouth every ship capable of carrying six or more horses as soon as possible;[c] and by the middle of April a numerous fleet and a large army had assembled at Dover. In the meantime a quarrel arose between the King of France and the Count of Flanders, because the latter refused to support Philip in his attempt upon England. The French monarch, to punish the Count, entered Flanders with his whole army, and all the ships which were in the Seine, for the purpose of conveying the French troops to England, were sent to the port of Damme. Though the harbour was of "wonderful size," it could not contain all the French ships, which are said to have amounted to seventeen hundred sail; so that many of them anchored on the coast.[d] The Count of Flanders naturally called upon King John for assistance, who immediately ordered his fleet, consisting of five hundred vessels, and having on board seven hundred knights, to proceed to Damme under the command of the Earl of Salisbury, the Duke of Holland, and the Count of Boulogne. Salisbury, greatly surprised A. D. 1213.

[a] Authorities differ as to the meaning of this term. Ducange and other glossarists consider that it meant literally "turn-tail," from "culum vertere," *i. e.* cowardice. Blount and Roquefort say it meant slavery.

[b] Matt. Paris, 163; from Wendover, III. 244.

[c] Rot. Claus. p. 133; Matt Paris, 163.

[d] Rigord, de Gestis Philippi Augusti, 212.

A. D. 1213. to find the port full, and the coast covered with vessels, sent to reconnoitre the strange fleet; and learnt that they were French, and that the greater part of their crews had landed and gone inland to plunder. He instantly attacked the ships, and three hundred vessels laden with corn, wine, and arms fell into his hands. The cables of the prizes were cut, and, the wind being off the land, they were soon on their passage to England. About a hundred or more of the others, which were either drawn upon the strand or driven on shore, were burnt, and part of their cargoes [a] brought away. Not satisfied with his success, Salisbury and his brave companions landed, and pursued the French for some distance; but King Philip sent so large a force against them that he was compelled to retreat, and hastily embarked.[b] The biographer [c] of that monarch gives a different account of this affair. He says, that, except a few knights and soldiers who were left to protect the ships, all the French forces were besieging Ghent when the English fleet appeared off Damme; that Salisbury and his soldiers rushed into small boats and took possession of the vessels outside

[a] "Spolia."

[b] Roger of Wendover, p. 257; Matt. Paris, 165, 166. The above contains everything on the subject in *contemporary* writers, most of whom call the port Swine, instead of Damme; but Holinshed, whom Southey, I. 187, has followed, gives a more detailed account of the affair, enhancing the merits of the English by saying that the French returned to their ships, and made a valiant resistance, "till the Englishmen getting on land and ranging themselves on either side of the haven, beat the Frenchmen so on the sides, and the ships grappling together in front, that they fought as it had been in a pitched field, till that finally the Frenchmen were not able to sustain the force of the Englishmen, but were constrained, after long fight and great slaughter, to yield themselves prisoners."

Southey also says, that the first act of the conquerors was to give thanks to God for their victory; but for these, and some other statements, no other authority has been found than Holinshed.

[c] Rigord, 212.

the port, and the next day attacked the ships in the harbour as well as the town; that the King quitted Ghent, and drove the English to their ships, slaying and drowning nearly two thousand, and making many prisoners. Important as the capture of the French fleet[a] must have been, since it induced Philip to burn the remainder of his ships and to quit Flanders, this event cannot be considered to have added much to the naval renown of England, and it is chiefly memorable for having been the first engagement between the ships of France and this Country. It is evident that the French were taken by surprise; and, judging from the manner in which the affair is described even by English writers, Salisbury seems to have known that the French ships were deserted by their crews before he began the attack;[b] and there is no doubt that he was defeated on shore and driven to his ships. A. D. 1213.

About August, when King John proposed to embark for Poitou with a large army, his barons and knights informed him, that, as they had spent all their money, they could not accompany him abroad, except at his expense. Highly displeased at such an intimation, John went on board of his own ship, attended only by his personal retinue, put to sea, and on the third day arrived at Jersey; but, finding that none of his nobles followed him, he was obliged to return to England.[c] This statement, though not confirmed by any direct evidence, and though what

[a] Neither Wendover nor Paris mention the precise date of this affair, but it seems to have occurred about the middle of April.

[b] "Ubi tantam navium multitudinem stupefacti intuentes, et non mediocriter admirantes; cognoverunt, missis exploratoribus, classem esse Regis Francorum quæ illuc nuper advenerat, et in ipsa omni ferè custodia, exceptis paucis marinellis, carere." Matt. Paris, p. 166.

[c] Roger of Wendover, p. 261; Matt. Paris, 166.

A. D. 1213. is known of King John's itinerary[a] scarcely agrees with his having been three days absent from England at that period, it is nevertheless supported by some facts. In June and July several important affairs, apparently of a military nature, under the guidance of the Earl of Salisbury, were in preparation.[b] Soldiers were ordered to be raised, and ships procured, to accompany the King's fleet, two of which, belonging to Bayonne, were to be delivered to the knights going to Poitou.[c] Towards the close of that, and early in the following year, great exertions were certainly used to raise an army and equip a fleet for Poitou. The Archdeacon of Taunton was directed in November to prepare all the King's galleys under his charge;[d] and, a few weeks after, they were sent to Portsmouth.[e]

A. D. 1214. King John, having appointed the Bishop of Winchester Justiciary of England, sailed from the Isle of Wight about the 9th of February, accompanied by the Queen, his son Richard, and a large army, and landed at Rochelle before the 15th of that month.[f] The King returned to England on the 2nd, and was at Dartmouth on the 15th of October.[g]

Eustace the Monk, who had long been retained by King John, transferred his services to the French at the commencement of the war with his Barons, and became a most useful ally of Prince Louis. Towards the end of 1214, the uncle and brother of the Monk, who, with a formidable band, had taken

[a] Hardy's Preface to the Patent Rolls.
[b] Rot. Claus. p. 136.
[c] Ibid. pp. 147, 148.
[d] Ibid. p. 155.
[e] Ibid. p. 156.
[f] Coggeshall, 873; Matt. Paris, 172.
[g] Itinerary, *ut supra*.

possession of the isle of Sark, were made prisoners, A. D. 1214. apparently by Sir Philip d'Albini, and placed in Porchester Castle, whence they were released in January following.[a]

In 1215 few naval proceedings are recorded; but A. D. 1215. in April an embargo was laid upon all English shipping.[b] In May, two good galleys, well equipped and manned, were sent to the Earl Marshal at Pembroke,[c] and in September twelve ships were ordered to be delivered to Ralph de Ralegh.[d] It is said[e] that, immediately after John had granted Magna Charta, finding himself deserted by all his knights except seven, he went privately to the Isle of Wight, where he led a solitary life for three months, conversing only with fishermen and sailors, and devising plans of vengeance against his turbulent barons. By some he was supposed to be a fisherman, by others a merchant, and an adventurer or pirate, and by many an "apostate." He afterwards sailed for Dover, where he occupied his leisure in conciliating the sailors of the Cinque Ports.[f] So much of this statement as relates to John's having gone to the

[a] Rot. Claus. 16 John, p. 177. On the 4th of November, 1214, the constable of Porchester Castle was directed to receive the soldiers and brother of Eustace the Monk, whom the men of Philip d'Albini had brought to Porchester. They were to support themselves at their own costs as long as possible; and if they wished it, the constable was to provide a messenger for them to send to their friends (Rot. Claus. p. 171); and on the same day, 40*s.* were ordered to be paid for the expense of bringing the uncle and brother of Eustace the Monk prisoners from the isle of Sark. (Ibid. p. 175.) On the 15th of January, 1215, the constable of the castle was ordered to deliver six of the prisoners, including "James, brother of Eustace the Monk," to the persons appointed to receive them (Rot. Patent. p. 126), and the rest were sent away in April following. (Ibid. p. 133.)

[b] Rot. Claus. pp. 197, 203.

[c] Ibid. p. 214.

[d] Ibid. p. 229.

[e] Roger of Wendover, III. 319; Matt. Paris, 183; and Hardy's Preface to the Patent Rolls.

[f] Matt. Paris.

A. D. 1215. Isle of Wight has been justly doubted;[a] because the documents issued between the 15th of June, the date of Magna Charta, and the 22nd of July 1215, prove that the King remained at Runnymede or Windsor until the 25th of June; and that though he was at various places afterwards — Winchester, Marlborough, Devises, Corfe, Oxford, Bridgnorth, &c. — he did not go to the Isle of Wight. About the 28th of August John was at Sandwich, and on the 1st of September at Dover;[b] and, as he remained there nearly three weeks, he may then, as Matthew Paris says, have ingratiated himself with the sailors of the Cinque Ports. Some time in this year Eustace the Monk landed hostilely at Folkestone; but nothing besides the simple fact, and that he was aided by William de Abrincis, is known.[c] About November, a ship belonging to Boulogne was taken by Roger de Loveney, but was restored, with all her crew and tackle, by the King's orders.[d]

A shipwreck occurred in 1215, which, even when allowance is made for the usual numerical inaccuracies of chroniclers, was attended by an unparalleled loss of human lives. A Norman knight, called Sir Hugh de Boves, who had been before employed by King John,[e] had engaged to assist him in the quarrel with his barons; and on the 26th of October embarked at Calais with, it is said, 40,000 followers, including many women and children, who intended

[a] Lingard, III. 76.

[b] Itinerary, *ut supra*.

[c] On the 25th of November, 1215, the King offered to pardon William de Abrincis all his offences, "sive pro Eustachio Monacho qui applicuit apud Folkestan; sive pro aliis." Rot. Patent. 17 John, p. 155.

[d] Rot. Claus. p. 238.

[e] In December 1213, Hugh de Boves was sent to Bristol, and the constable of that place was ordered to provide for his use, in the King's service, a ship which could carry ten or twelve horses. Rot. Claus. p. 159.

to settle in Norfolk and Suffolk,—the King having, A. D. 1215.
as was reported, assigned those counties to Boves as the reward of his services. On their passage to Dover a violent storm suddenly arose, and all the ships foundered, with nearly the whole of their crews and passengers. Boves' corpse was washed ashore near Yarmouth; and the coast was so covered with the bodies of his companions, that the very air was tainted.[a]

Early in 1216, vessels were prohibited from A. D. 1216.
going to Scotland, or to the dominions of any other of the King's enemies; and ships entering the port of Yarmouth with any property on board belonging to the King or land of Scotland were to be immediately arrested. In April, the bailiffs of Rye were directed to send every vessel in that place to the mouth of the Thames, and in them four of the best of their townsmen, to inform the King how many other ships, of what class, and by whom owned, belonged to their port.[b] Some time in the reign of King John, twelve men of Portsmouth having been summoned to answer for ships that had left that place without paying the tax called "the Fifteenth," they said it was true that three ships had arrived there, one of which was from Exeter, called "the Grim," but the master had paid the duty at Dartmouth; that the second ship, which was from Rochelle, having paid them the money, namely, ten marks, they were ready to produce it; and that the third ship was from Winchelsea, laden with sixty-one tuns of wine, each tun being appraised at three

[a] Matt. Paris, 168. Roger of Wendover, 332, who says, that innumerable infants were washed ashore in their cradles. Chronicle of Mailros, 119; Coggeshall, 877, say that one of the vessels was "the King's own ship."

[b] Rot. Claus. pp. 269, 270.

A. D. 1216. marks and a half, and the master had found security to go to the King's territory at Harfleur, and had the necessary warrant.[a]

During the summer of 1216, the Straits of Dover and other parts of the English channel appear to have been filled with the vessels of Prince Louis of France, under the command of Eustace the Monk; for when the Pope's legate demanded permission of King Philip to go to England, he willingly promised him protection throughout his own dominions; but he added, "If you should happen to fall into the hands of Eustace the Monk, or any other of Louis' men, who infest the sea, do not impute it to me should any harm befal you."[b]

Disgusted with the conduct of their faithless Sovereign, the English barons offered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the King of France, who eagerly accepted the proposal. A fleet of six hundred ships and eighty cogs having been collected at Calais, Gravelines, and Whitsand, by Eustace the Monk for this service, the Prince embarked with a considerable force; but, owing to a strong north-east wind, the ships were dispersed, and Louis was obliged in his single vessel to anchor at Stonar, in the Isle of Thanet, on the 21st of May. Meeting with no resistance, Louis proceeded with his ships to Sandwich; and after subduing the whole of Kent, except Dover castle, he joined the confederated barons at London.[c]

King John did not long survive this formidable attempt to deprive him of his crown, as he died at Newark on the 19th of October in the same year.

[a] Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 94.
[b] Matt. Paris, 195.
[c] Matt. Paris, 195; Roger of Wendover, 367; Coggeshall, 881.

CHAPTER VIII.

ACCESSION OF HENRY THE THIRD.—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH FLEET OFF DOVER.—EXPEDITION TO POITOU.—CAPTURE OF THE PORTUGUESE GREAT SHIP.—PREPARATIONS TO RESIST AN INVASION.—THE KING GOES TO BRITTANY.—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—LANDS IN GUIENNE.—ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS DISPERSED BY A STORM.—PIRATICAL CONDUCT OF THE CINQUE PORTS.—PIRATES IN THE ISLE OF LUNDY.—THE KING'S EXPEDITION TO GASCONY.—CIVIL WARS.

No English Monarch ever ascended the throne under more inauspicious circumstances than HENRY THE THIRD. He was only ten years of age; his capital and part of his dominions were in the hands of a French prince; and many of the most powerful of his subjects adhered to the foreign invader. The custody of the young King was entrusted to Richard Earl of Pembroke, the Marshal, with the title of Guardian of the Kingdom,[a] whose abilities, fidelity, and prowess justified the confidence reposed in him. A. D. 1216.

In May 1217, the decisive battle of Lincoln destroyed the hopes of Prince Louis, and of the English barons who had confederated with him.[b] Soon after their discomfiture, the French fleet, which was coming to their assistance, was completely defeated; an event of the greatest interest, for it was the first regular sea-fight worthy of the name between the

[a] "Regis rector et regni Angliæ," Fœdera, I. p. 246; Matt. Paris, 203.

[b] Matt. Paris, 204.

A. D. 1216. ships of England and France, and the precursor of that long series of victories which constitute the Naval glory of Great Britain.

The only Naval matters[a] mentioned before that A. D. 1217. memorable engagement are, that, soon after Henry's accession, the King's men of Ireland, who were with their ships on the coast of Normandy, were directed to come in his service to Winchelsea;[b] and that, on the 23rd of July 1217, the sheriff of Devonshire was commanded to provide ships at the King's cost, to convey Isabel, the widow of King John, so that she might pass honourably to her own country.[c]

As soon as the news of Louis' defeat at Lincoln reached France, Robert de Courtenay collected an army for his assistance,[d] which embarked at Calais in a fleet of eighty ships besides galleys and smaller vessels,[e] under the command of the famous Eustace the Monk; and on the 24th of August they put to sea, intending to proceed up the Thames to London.[f]

Hubert de Burgh, the King's Justiciary and Governor of Dover Castle, impressed with the necessity of preventing this formidable force from landing, im-

[a] It is amusing to notice the grave statement of the Abbot of Glenlees, that, some time in 1216, the moon assumed the appearance of a castle, and immediately after of a large and beautiful ship, with one man of enormous stature on board, who seemed the sailor, and, spreading her sail, passed over the Isle of Man towards Ireland. Chron. of Mailros, p. 127.

[b] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. III. m. 14.

[c] Rot. Claus. p. 315.

[d] Guil. de Armor. ap. Duchesne, v. 90, who calls Robert de Courtenay the King of France's kinsman. He was the ancestor of the Earls of Devon; and it is remarkable that this event in his life should not be noticed by Dugdale, Collins, or any other Peerage writer.

[e] The Annals of Waverley, apud Gale, II. 183, rate the French fleet at "nearly one hundred" sail.

[f] Wendover, ed. Coxe, IV. 28; Matt. Paris, 206. Though the statements of Matt. Paris are referred to, it should be observed that those in the text of his Historia Major are taken verbatim from Wendover.

mediately took measures for the purpose. Addressing the Bishop of Winchester, the Marshal, and other great personages, he said, "If these people land, England is lost; let us therefore boldly meet them, for God is with us, and they are excommunicate." His ardour was not, however, shared by his audience, who replied, "We are not sea-soldiers, nor pirates, nor fishermen: go thou and die!"[a] Not discouraged by this answer, De Burgh sent for his chaplain, and having hastily taken the sacrament, he with an emphatic oath thus enjoined the garrison to defend their post: "Ye shall suffer me to be hanged before ye surrender the castle, for it is the key of England." Affected to tears by the exhortation, and still more by the fate that seemed to await their chief, they pledged themselves to obey his commands.[b] Another writer gives rather a different account: he states, that when the French fleet were seen by the people of the Cinque Ports, knowing it to be commanded by Eustace the Monk, they said, "If this tyrant land, he will lay all waste, for the country is not protected, and our King is far away. Let us therefore put our souls into our hands, and meet him while he is at sea, and help will come to us from on high." Upon which some one exclaimed, "Is there any one among you who is this day ready to die for England?" and was answered by another, "Here am I."[c] The first speaker then observed, "Take with thee an axe, and when thou seest A. D. 1217.

[a] "Cui responderunt, 'Non sumus milites maris, non piratæ, non piscatores: vade autem tu mori.'"—Matt. Paris, variantes lectiones. This passage affords another proof that "pirata" had not then the modern signification of "pirate."

[b] Ibid.

[c] "Ecce ego."

A. D. 1217. us engaging the tyrant's ship, climb up the mast, and cut down the banner, that the other vessels may be dispersed from the want of a leader."[a] Sixteen large and well-armed ships, manned with skilful seamen belonging to the Cinque Ports, and about twenty smaller vessels, formed the English squadron.[b] Assembling some of the bravest of his knights, among whom were Sir Philip d'Albini, Sir Henry de Turberville, Sir Richard Suard, and Sir Richard, a natural son of King John,[c] De Burgh led them to the ships, and immediately put to sea.

The enemy were at some distance[d] from Calais when the English sailed, but all the accounts of the engagement are defective in nautical details, while the few that do occur are very obscurely expressed. It appears that the wind was southerly, blowing fresh; and that the French were going large, steering to round the North Foreland, little expecting any opposition.[e] The English squadron, instead

[a] "At ille inquit, 'Tolle tecum securim, et cum videris nos cum nave tyranni congredi, statim navis ipsius malum ascende et vexillum quod in altum erigitur deprime; ut sic dispergantur et pereant cæteræ naves dum ducem non habeant neque præcessorem." — Hemingford apud Gale, II. 563.

[b] "Erant autem nutui suo deditæ circiter *sexdecim* naves bene communitæ sine naviculis comitantibus, quæ ad *viginti* sunt recensitæ." Ibid. In page 206, Matt. Paris says, the English ships of all kinds did not exceed forty.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Guil. de Armorica, v. 90, says, the French were "in the middle of the sea," or mid-channel; and Matt. Paris, 206, that the English ships "had traversed a large expanse of sea." "Cum itaque rapido volatu multum maris viam emensi fuissent pyratæ regis Angliæ, ex obliquo venientes recensentes in parte adversa naves quaterviginti magnas et plures de minoribus et galeiis armatis bene timuerunt bellum conserere navale cum navibus paucis quæ inter galeias et naves alias numerum quadragenarium non excesserunt, computatis omnibus."— p. 206.

[e] No writer states the quarter of the wind; but Matthew Paris, p. 206, says, that the soldiers in the French ships found a rough wind blowing from behind them, which drove them with great force towards the English coast;—"Habuerunt à tergo flatum turgidum qui eos versus Angliam vehementer urgebat, sed

of directly approaching the enemy, kept their wind as if going to Calais; which made Eustace, the French commander, exclaim, "I know that those wretches think to invade Calais like thieves, but that is useless, for it is well defended."[a] As soon as the English had gained the wind of the French fleet, they bore down in the most gallant manner upon the enemy's rear;[b] and, the moment they came close to the sterns of the French ships, they threw grapnels into them, and, thus fastening the vessels together, prevented the enemy from escaping;—an early instance of that love of close fighting for which English sailors have ever since been distinguished. A.D. 1217

The action commenced by the crossbow-men and archers under Sir Philip d'Albini pouring volleys of arrows into the enemy's ships with deadly effect; and, to increase their dismay, the English threw unslaked lime, reduced to a fine powder, on board their opponents, which being blown by the wind into their eyes

insidias paratas sibi penitùs ignorabant."—p. 206.

[a] Matt. Par., var. lect.

[b] This manœuvre is very obscurely described; and the obscurity has been increased by the elucidation of a commentator. In the text, p. 206, Matthew Paris says, when the English determined to attack the enemy, "audacter a tergo irruerunt in hostes"; but in the variantes lectiones it is said, "Perrexerunt igitur audacter obliquando tamen Dracenam i. loof, ac si vellent adire Calesiam. Quod cum vidisset Eustachius Monachus dux Francorum ait, 'Scio quod hi miseri cogitant Calesiam quasi latrunculi invadere, sed frustra, bene enim præmuniuntur;' et ecce Angli subito cum comperissent ventum exhausisse, versa Dracena ex transverso vento jam eis secundo irruerunt in hostes alacriter." As proof that "Dracæna" meant "loof," Mons. Michell (in his illustrations of the Romance of Eustace the Monk) cites another copy of this passage in the Cotton. MS. Claudius D. vi. fo. 49, where to "dracænam" is added, "quæ vulgariter dicitur 'lofa.'" The question is, therefore, what was meant by "dracena" and "lof"; and, finding that a part of a ship's bow is called "loof," Monsieur Michell has thus translated the passage:—"Et voici que tout-à-coup reconnoissant que le vent étoit tombé, tournèrent l'avant du navire, c'est à dire le *lof*, et comme le vent, de contraire, leur etoit devenu propice, ils se jetèrent sur l'ennemi avec ardeur."—p. xiv. It is certain, however,

A. D. 1217. completely blinded them.[a] The English then rushed on board; and cutting away the rigging and haulyards with axes, the sails fell over the French, to use the expression of the chronicler, "like a net upon ensnared small birds."[b] Thus hampered, the enemy could make but a feeble resistance; and, after an immense slaughter, were completely defeated. Other narratives supply a few additional details.[c] The English ships, it is said, kept their wind, instead of advancing at once towards the French fleet, from a natural hesitation to attack so greatly superior a force; but animated by recollecting the recent affair of Lincoln, "in which a few had vanquished large numbers," they determined to give them battle.[d] Though the French fought with

that "dracena" meant the *helm*;—"Providentia nauclerí obliquantes *dracenam* subito navemque girantes declinavit impetum." Otterbourne, p. 255. By "loof," the glossists did not mean "loof," part of a ship's bow, but "to luff," *i. e.* to put the helm to leeward, and thus to keep close to the wind. All that the chronicler intended to say was, therefore, that the English ships "kept their luff," a well-known technical phrase, *i. e.* kept their wind, until they got to windward of the enemy.

[a] Matt. Paris, 206.

[b] Ibid. and var. lect.

[c] Guil. de Armorica gives a very different, but certainly an erroneous, account of the affair. He says (v. 90), that, when Robert de Courtenay perceived the English vessels, he attacked them in his own ship, expecting to be seconded by the others; but none coming to his assistance, and being assailed by four ships at once, he was soon forced to surrender; but that all the other French vessels fled in terror into the port whence they came. In Courtenay's ship, he adds, were Eustace the Monk, and Droco, a clerk returning from Rome, both of whom, with many others, were beheaded. Mons. Michell has printed, among his illustrations of the romance of Eustace, an account of the battle, from the Harleian MS. 636, even more romantic than the Romance itself, where, as in other places, the monk is accused of sorcery, and of being able to render himself invisible; that one Stephen Crabbe, wishing to preserve the town of Sandwich from the French, embarked in a vessel belonging to the port, boarded the monk's ship, and cut off his head; but was himself hewn in pieces. Marvellous anecdotes accompany this narrative, which seems to have little other foundation, besides the battle and death of Eustace, than that there actually was a Stephen Crabbe, and apparently, like the monk, a notorious sea-robber, but who was afterwards employed by the King.—Vide Rot. Claus. 16 John, page 193, and a subsequent page of this volume.

[d] Matt. Paris, 206.

great bravery, very few among them were accustomed to naval tactics; and they fell rapidly under the lances, axes, and swords of their assailants.[a] In the meantime many of their vessels had been sunk by the galleys, which, running their iron prows into them, stove their sides.[b] Disdaining to be taken alive, or, as the chroniclers more probably state, dreading to fall into the hands of the English, for it was the custom to treat prisoners with great severity, that they might be induced to pay exorbitant sums for their ransom, several of the French knights leapt into the sea.[c] Of their whole fleet, fifteen vessels only escaped;[d] and, as soon as the principal persons had been secured, the English took the captured ships in tow.[e] They thus proceeded in triumph to Dover; and, while "victoriously ploughing the waves," they returned thanks to God for their success,[f] an example of religious gratitude after a battle which has been so properly followed on many occasions in modern times. It was the first object of the victors to find Eustace the Monk, and a strict search being made, he was discovered hidden in the hold of one of the prizes. His offer of a large sum of money for his life, and his promise to serve the King of England faithfully in future, were alike disregarded. To his other crimes he added that of treason to King John; and Sir Richard, the bastard son of that Monarch, seizing him, exclaimed, "Base traitor, never shall you again seduce any one by your fair promises!"[g] and, drawing

A. D. 1217.

[a] Matt. Paris, 206.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Annals of Waverley, II. 183.
[e] "Funibus colligabant atque cum lætissima victoria versus Doveram æquora sulcantes." — Matt. Paris, 206.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Matt. Paris, 206, var. lect.

A. D. 1217. his sword, struck off his head, which was afterward exhibited on a pole throughout England.[a] The battle was seen with exultation by the garrison of Dover Castle; and the conquerors were received by the bishops and clergy in full sacerdotal habits, bearing crosses and banners in procession, and chaunting thanksgiving and praises for their unexpected success.[b] The spoils of the ships, which consisted of gold, silver, silk vestments, and weapons of all kinds, having been collected, and the prisoners, who were loaded with heavy chains, disposed of, Sir Philip d'Albini[c] dispatched an account of the victory to the King, who glorified God for the success He had vouchsafed to his arms.[d] According to two authorities, this was the *second* engagement at sea in that year; and they say that on the former occasion the French were successful, and had landed in England. Speaking of the last battle, one of those writers observes, "the like was unheard of in his times." Besides Robert de Courtenay, William de Baris, Ralph de Tornellis, and other distinguished persons, the English captured one hundred and twenty-five knights, and more than a thousand soldiers of inferior rank.[e] The loss sus-

[a] Trivet, i. 169.

[b] Matt. Paris, var. lect.

[c] It does not appear why the report to the King should have been made by D'Albini, and not by De Burgh.

[d] Matt. Paris, 206.

[e] Chron. of Mailros, apud Gale, ii. 193; and Chron. of Lanercost, p. 24. "Franci vero in manu validâ et navium multitudine copiosâ venientes *vice primâ* in maris medio victoriam adepti optatum litus possiderunt, sed vice versâ Deo disponente, congregatis undique nautis et navibus iterum in medio maris ad invicem obviantes congressione factâ Anglici victoriam obtinuerunt."—Mailros, p. 193. The account of this memorable engagement would not be complete without the description given of it in the Romance of Eustace the Monk, its principal hero. (Ed. Michell, p. 82.)

"Une autre fois entra en mer
Od grant navie por passer,
Raous de la Torniele od lui,
Si fu varlès de Montagui;
Wistasces vint en haute mer,
Ki molt estoit et preus et ber,

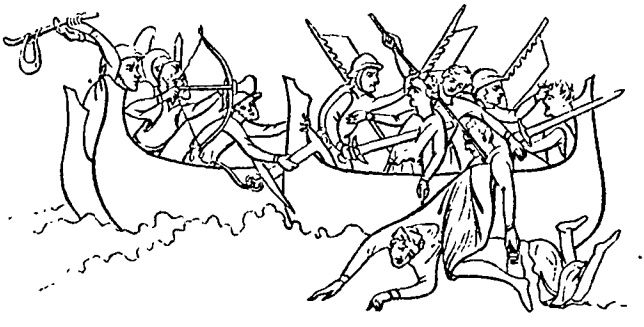
tained by the English is nowhere mentioned, but it A. D. 1227.
does not appear to have been great.

Upon the preceding statements it is unnecessary to make many comments. Though the ships, compared with those of the present age were small, yet the mode of attack, the bravery displayed, and the great superiority of the enemy, render the event worthy of the first place in the list of our Naval victories. It was actually a hand-to-hand fight against double the number of ships, and probably four times the number of men, for the French vessels were filled with troops; and more than one-sixth of their fleet was captured or destroyed. To national courage was united considerable professional skill, for the enemy's force must have been known to De Burgh and his companions before they embarked; and their appearing to steer for Calais was no doubt a stratagem to gain the wind of their opponents, and not the effect of hesitation to attack them. This, together with the manner in which the French were rendered comparatively powerless by causing the sails to fall over

Plus de xx. nés devant lui passent
Et molt durement les assailent
Od molt grans ars et arbalestres,
Car ils ont mis en lor esneques.
Il se desfendent au jeter
Et au lanchier et au bierser,
D'Englès font grant occision,
Bien se desfendent com baron.
Wistasces maint en craventoit
D'un naviron que il tenoit;
Ki brise bras, ki brise teste,
Chelui occist et chelui verse,
Chelui abat, cel autre foule
Et au tierch brise la canole;
Mais cil de toutes pars l'assalent,
Molt durement si le travallent,
De grans naces fierent au bort
Mais cil se desfendent si fort
Kil ne pucent dedens entrer.
Dont commenchièrent à ruer
Caus bien molue en grans pos
Kil depéchoient a lor bors.
La pourriére molt grans leva:
Che fu chou che plus les greva
Dont ne se porent plus desfendre;
Car lor oel furent plein de cendre.
Cil estoient desor le vent
Ki lor faisoient le torment.
En la nef Wistasce saillirent
Et molt durement les mesballirent;
Tout li baron i furent pris,
Wistaces li moignes occis;
Il i ot la teste colpée;
Tantost defenist la meslée.
Nus ne puet vivre longhement
Qui tos jors à mal faire entent."

them, reflect infinite credit on the English, and afford another proof that superiority in numbers often avails little against skill and intrepidity. It has been candidly remarked by a competent French authority, that French historians, as well as those who have written under the influence of France, have avoided speaking of Eustace the Monk, and even of the naval combat in which he fell,[a] which may doubtless be attributed to their unwillingness to mention an event so little flattering to their national pride, and to the difficulty of alluding to Eustace without describing all the circumstances which led to his death.

In two copies of Matthew Paris' "Historia Major," a curious representation of the battle is given, differing but slightly from each other; and which, though not actual pictures of the fight itself, and though certainly inaccurate representations of the vessels, inasmuch as they have neither masts nor sails, are yet valuable, from affording some idea of a naval conflict in the latter part of the thirteenth century.[b]



[a] Mons. Michell, p. XLII. William of Armorica does, however, mention the subject; and in a manner that proves he was animated by French feelings, even if he did not write under the influence of France. Vide page 178, *ante*.

[b] The above engraving is taken

Few naval events, and none of much importance, occurred for many years. Prince Louis returned to France, and peace was made with that country in September 1217;[a] but about 1221 hostilities seem to have been expected, for, on the 6th of March in that year, the barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to guard the coast so strictly that no one who was likely to injure the King or the realm might land or embark.[b] In July in the following year galleys were ordered to be stationed in every port of Ireland for the defence of that country.[c]

A. D. 1217.

A. D. 1221.

A. D. 1222.

Prince Louis succeeded to the throne of France in July 1223, and being called upon by the English government to fulfil his promise to restore Normandy, Maine, and Anjou,[d] he peremptorily refused to do so, entered Poitou, and then took possession of Rochelle and other towns.[e] It was therefore determined to send a considerable force to Poitou under the Earl of Salisbury, and Prince Richard the King's brother, who had just received the order of knighthood, and was soon after

A. D. 1223.

A. D. 1224.

from a manuscript of Matthew Paris' work in the British Museum, supposed to have been his own copy. Cottonian MS. Nero D. v. f. 214. In the original the boat nearest the left hand margin is fastened to three men, apparently all ecclesiastics, two of whom are mitred; and the right hand of each is extended, as if invoking the Divine aid for the English combatants. The other drawing is in a manuscript in the library of Corpus College, Cambridge; and has been engraved in Strutt's Horda Angel Cynnan. The banners in the French vessel are there charged with bars, annulets, and crescents, but evidently derived from no other source than the imagination of the artist.

[a] Fœdera, I. 108.

[b] Rot. Patent. 5 Hen. III. m. 6.

[c] Ibid. 6 Hen. III. m. 2.

[d] No such conditions are mentioned in the treaty with France (Fœdera, I. 108); but Lingard (III. 104) says, "Louis promised, and confirmed upon oath, that on his accession to the French crown he would restore all the provinces which had belonged to Henry's father;" and that learned writer considers it probable that such promise was made, from the manner in which its fulfilment was frequently though ineffectually urged by the King of England on later occasions.

[e] Matt. Paris, p. 221.

created Earl of Cornwall and Count of Poitou. Warlike preparations were accordingly made, and vessels ordered to be provided for the conveyance of troops
A. D. 1225. to France. On the 1st of January 1225, the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk were directed to proceed in person to Ipswich, and, if they found there three good ships, they were to cause them to be fitted out and stored with clays and bridges for the King's service. If such ships could not be found at Ipswich, the sheriffs were to go to Dunwich, and send three ships from thence to Ipswich. The ships were to be provided with plenty of pilots and other able mariners well acquainted with the coast of Flanders and Antwerp.[a] On the 15th, the barons of the Cinque Ports were ordered to meet at Sheppey, to take measures for the protection of the sea-coast against the King's enemies, and to cause all persons then living who had served in the time of King John to swear to arm themselves.[b] Such of the barons as were at Portsmouth, intending to go to Gascony for wine, were directed to select from "the whole of the King's fleet"[c] the best and safest ship, for the purpose of conveying armour and baggage to Richard the King's brother in that province. They were also to take care that the best sailors and masters were appointed to the said ship;[d] they were strictly enjoined to keep close to it during the passage for its protection, and not to quit it until it had arrived in a safe port in Gascony. On the 17th of January,

[a] "Imponita in eisdem navibus copia gubernatorum et aliorum bonorum marinellorum qui bene sciant costeram Flandriæ et de Aunvers et parcium illarum." Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III. p. 10.

[b] Rot. Patent. 9 Hen. III. m. 8.

[c] "De tota flotta nostra."

[d] Rot. Patent. 9 Hen. III. m. 2.

orders were issued to prevent any ship, large or small, from quitting Dover, or any other port, unless security were first given that she would not go with her cargo to any place except it were on the coast of England; and she was to bring back letters from the bailiffs of the port to which she had been, proving the fact. Vessels carrying foreign merchants and others from Dover to Whitsand, or elsewhere, and fishing-boats, were however exempted.[a] On the same occasion the King's great ship and several others were fitted out;[b] the "great ship" being placed under the command of Friar Thomas of the Temple, to whom the masters of that ship, as well as those of the galleys, were enjoined to pay implicit obedience.[c] On the 20th of February, all the great ships which were at Southampton were directed to be sent to Portsmouth; but all fishing vessels, having only twelve oars or less, were to be allowed to fish, or go where they pleased.[d] Seven of the ships at Portsmouth were assigned to the Earl of Salisbury, in March, for the conveyance of his horses and equipage to Gascony;[e] and all the great merchant-ships were sent from Shoreham to Portsmouth for the expedition.[f] In December 1225, the keepers of the ports were strictly commanded not to allow ships to sail for any place in France;[g] and they were soon after farther commanded not to permit any ship to leave a A. D. 1225.

[a] "Nec batelli piscaricii ad piscandum," Rot. Claus. p. 70.

[b] Rot. Patent. 9 Hen. III. m. 7, and m. 6; 10 Hen. III. m. 4, m. 5, m. 16. Rot. Claus. pp. 599, 607, 609.

[c] Rot. Patent. 9 Hen. III. m. 8.

[d] "Et omnes alias naves piscaricias quæ sunt ad duodecim remos vel ad pauciores." Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III. p. 19.

[e] Rot. Claus. ii. p. 21.

[f] "Omnes naves mercatorias magnas." Ibid. p. 23.

[g] Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. III. vol. ii. p. 116.

port without the King's special orders, and to cause all persons belonging to the ports to hold themselves in readiness to go in his service.[a] About this time the King's "great ship captured a Portuguese ship called the "Cardinal," on her passage from some place in Gascony, probably Bordeaux, which was taken into the King's service;[b] but the cause of her capture is not stated.[c]

A. D. 1226. Early in 1226, intelligence having reached the government that the French were preparing to invade England, a great council was convened, and an aid demanded from the people.[d] On the 23rd of March, the King informed the barons of the Cinque Ports that Savery de Maloleone, a powerful French baron, and others, were committing great injuries to his subjects at sea, who were thereby prevented from coming in safety to England. The barons were therefore commanded to deliberate among themselves on the subject, and to adopt measures for rendering the passage of the sea secure.[e]

[a] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III. m. 25.

[b] Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. III. m. 27, and m. 14; Rot. Patent. 10 Hen. III. m. 5.

[c] One of the notices of the Portuguese ship is so remarkable that a translation of it will be given. On the 12th of December 1225, the King issued the following writ to Richard Renger, Mayor of London, Andrew Bukerel, William Joynier, and Roger le Duc:—"Gomecius and John, scholars of Paris from Portugal, for themselves and four of their companions scholars from Portugal, have shown to us that their parents and relations sent money for their support in the ship from Portugal which was lately taken by our great ship in coming from the parts of Gascony; wherefore we command you, that from the merchandizes which were in the aforesaid ship, and are in your custody, you do cause the aforesaid Gomecius and John to have forty marks for the use of themselves and their aforesaid companions." Rot. Claus. p. 89.

[d] Dr. Lingard seems to doubt whether an invasion was really expected, as he says, "Under the pretence of resisting an invasion threatened by the King of France," an aid was most urgently demanded; but the commands to the barons of the Cinque Ports, and other measures, prove that the French were masters of the channel.

[e] Rot. Patent. 10 Hen. III. m. 6.

The bailiffs of the Cinque Ports and the keeper of A. D. 1226
the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk were directed, on the 15th of April 1226, to detain all ships in their ports, and to recall all others belonging thereto, that they might be in readiness to go in the King's service, by night and day, on the fifteenth day after the ensuing Easter.[a] On the 8th of May, all shipping were ordered to assemble at Portsmouth by the end of that month.[b] Reinforcements were sent in June in the following year, when orders were issued to all the soldiers, as well as to the masters and crews of the ships, not to attack the subjects of the King of France during their outward or homeward voyage.[c] Hence the war seems to have been confined to the land; or, at all events, French merchant-vessels were not to be molested.

Though orders had been issued that no French merchant should be permitted to remain in England after the beginning of November 1226, yet, on the 5th of that month, the bailiffs of the seaports were commanded to allow French ships laden with wine, corn, or provisions to come to England in safety;[d] which agrees with the prohibition to molest French subjects or property at sea.

An armistice for twelve months was soon after concluded between France and England; and, on the 7th of November, Louis the Eighth died. The Earl of Salisbury consequently returned home; but he was so nearly shipwrecked on his voyage, that he threw every thing valuable, as clothes, rings, and plate, into the sea, in order that, "as he came

[a] Rot. Claus. p. 150.
[b] Ibid. p. 151.
[c] Rot. Patent. 10 Hen. III. m. 4.
[d] Fœdera, I. 182.

A. D. 1226. into this life naked, so might he enter into life eternal." At the moment of greatest danger a brilliant taper was perceived at the top of the mast, and near to it a damsel of surpassing beauty, who protected the light from the wind and rain. This omen inspired the Earl and the sailors with courage, as he attributed it to the special favour of the Holy Virgin, because from the day of his knighthood he had devoted a taper to her shrine to burn constantly during canonical hours. The ship took refuge in the isle of Rhé, near Rochelle, where they landed "in short boats;"[a] and, apprehending danger, the Earl of Salisbury embarked for England, but nearly three months elapsed before he arrived, and it was generally supposed that he was lost.[b]

On the 30th of November 1226, the shipping in every port were arrested for the King's service;[c] and in December the bailiffs of Fowey in Cornwall, and of all other ports, were strictly enjoined not to permit any ship, to whatever place it might belong, to proceed to any port under the dominion of the King of France until further orders.[d]

A. D. 1227. In January 1227, the bailiffs of Sandwich were directed to permit the masters and rectors[e] of all ships in that port to sail when they pleased, provided they gave security to return to England before Mid-lent. The bailiffs were further enjoined to cause the names of all the said rectors to be enrolled, and made known to the King at Easter.[f]

The minority of Louis the Ninth, and other cir-

[a] "Brevibus ingressi cymbis."
[b] Matt. Paris, p. 224.
[c] Rot. Claus. p. 205.
[d] Ibid. p. 146.
[e] "Magistri et rectores."
[f] Rot. Claus. p. 207.

cumstances, afforded Henry, who was then in his twentieth year, and ambitious of military glory, a favourable opportunity of recovering his foreign dominions. On the 2nd of June, precepts were issued to the bailiffs of all the ports, stating that the King was preparing to cross the sea in person, and commanding them to send all their ships, properly manned and well stored with arms and provisions, to Portsmouth, before St. James's day, the 25th of July. The King, after specially commending the barons of the Cinque Ports, whom he said he had ever found prompt and ready for his service, desired them to be at Portsmouth, with all the service of good and great ships which they owed, and requested them to double the number of days for which they were bound to serve, on account of the distance of the voyage, respecting which he greatly required their advice and assistance.[a] If the chroniclers are to be believed, Henry postponed his design for a short time by the advice of a skilful astrologer; but in 1229 he determined to proceed to the assistance of Peter de Dreux, Count of Brittany, then in rebellion against the King of France.[b] A. D. 1227. A. D. 1229.

On the 26th of July 1229, the bailiffs of every port were commanded to arrest all the shipping therein for the King's service, and to send them to Portsmouth;[c] and the barons of the Cinque Ports were ordered to send good mariners to that place for the King's great ship, that his voyage might not be delayed.[d] Vessels were also sent from Barfleur and Dieppe.[e] All the

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 211.
[b] Matt. Paris, p. 229.
[c] Rot. Patent. 13 Hen. III. m. 5 and 4.
[d] Ibid. m. 2.
[e] Ibid. m. 3.

A. D. 1229. nobles of England capable of bearing arms were summoned to meet at Portsmouth; and, before Michaelmas, the largest army ever raised in England had assembled in the vicinity of that place. At the moment of embarkation, it was discovered that there was not half shipping enough to convey the troops to Brittany; and the young King, who was greatly exasperated at the circumstance, laid the whole blame on Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, the Justiciary. Forgetful of De Burgh's long and faithful services, Henry publicly called him an "old traitor;" accused him of having received a bribe of five thousand marks from the Queen of France; and, drawing his sword, would have killed him on the spot, had he not been restrained by the Earl of Chester. The expedition was obliged to be deferred, the nobles returned to their homes, and Henry, convinced of the injustice he had done to De Burgh, was soon after reconciled to him.[a]

A.D 1230. By the end of April 1230, so many more ships had assembled at Portsmouth than were required, that on the 1st of May about one hundred and eighty masters obtained permission to return to their respective ports, because the King had enough of other ships for his passage.[b] On the 30th of April the King embarked at Portsmouth,[c] and landed at St. Maloes on the 3rd of May, when licence was given to upwards of

[a] Matt. Paris, pp. 249, 250. Dr. Lingard says, he has related the occurrence at Portsmouth on the faith of Matthew Paris, but is inclined to doubt the accuracy of the story. The original author of the statement is, however, Roger of Wendover, from whom the whole of this part of Matthew Paris' narrative is taken verbatim.

[b] Rot. Patent. 13 Hen. III. m. 3.

[c] It was forbidden to embark at any other place than Portsmouth or Dover. Rot. Patent. 14 Hen. III. p. 2, m. 2. d.

two hundred masters to return to England with their ships.[a] As some part of his troops were not ready, they joined him in Brittany. "Nothing, however, was done in France," says Wendover, "but expending immense treasure." On the 16th of August, shipping from all parts were ordered to proceed immediately to the King at St. Gildas and St. Maloes in Brittany, to convey the army back to England;[b] and, in October in the same year, Henry returned to England.[c] In that month the barons of some of the Cinque Ports received orders to select from the young men of their ports as many mariners, who were to be well armed, as would man the King's two galleys at Portsmouth;[d] and the inhabitants of Dublin were directed to prepare the newly built great galley for the King's service.[e] A. D. 1233.

In April 1234 the barons and knights of England were ordered to Portsmouth, fully equipped for war, to proceed in the King's service to Brittany;[f] and, in May, the barons of Hastings were directed to send ten ships, and those of Hythe and Romney five ships each, properly manned, to convey troops to that province.[g] On the 15th of July, the Cinque Ports were ordered to restore all the French ships that had been arrested; a similar command was soon after issued to give up to the merchants of Barfleur some vessels which had been seized;[h] and Henry wrote to Ferdinand the Third, King of Castile, in A. D. 1234.

[a] Rot. Patent. 14 Hen. III.
[b] Ibid. pt. 1. m. 2 and 3.
[c] Matt. Paris, 252; Wendover, pp. 365-367; Ann. de Margan, apud Gale, II. 18; Waverley Annals, 192; Hemingford, 572; Wikes, II. 41, who says the King returned about the feast of All-hallows, the 2nd of November.
[d] Rot. Patent. 17 Hen. III.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Fœdera, I. 211, 212.
[g] Rot. Patent. 18 Hen. III. m. 14.
[h] Ibid. m. 8.

September, requesting him to restore his great ship, with its merchandize, which was then detained at Cluny.[a]

A. D. 1235. Early in 1235, the Justiciary of Ireland was directed to send six good galleys to England.[b] Isabel, the youngest sister of the King, having been contracted to the Emperor Frederic, ten ships were ordered, on the 24th of March, to be provided by the ports of Norfolk, and several other vessels by the Cinque Ports, for her passage to the continent.[c] Henry accompanied his sister with a splendid retinue to Sandwich, where she embarked on the 11th of May, and, after a long passage of three days and nights, landed at Antwerp.[d]

In April 1235, the barons of the Cinque Ports were enjoined to deliver up to the merchants of Barfleur, their ships which had been captured off the coast of England by Hamon le Crevecœur;[e] and, in August, they were further directed to allow Peter de Montgomery, and some other persons, to investigate certain complaints which had been made concerning wrongs, prises, and robberies committed on the sea after the truce had been made with France.[f]

A. D. 1236. On the 3rd of February 1236, a truce was concluded with France for five years;[g] and, in June, satisfaction was directed to be made to the merchants of Flanders and Hainault for their ship, which had been plundered off Portsmouth by Sir Philip d'Albini, as well as for the pillage of their ships by the English

[a] Rot. Patent. 18 Hen. III. m. 5.
[b] Ibid. 19 Hen. III.
[c] Ibid. m. 14; Fœdera, I. 225.
[d] Matt. Paris, 284.
[e] Rot. Patent. 19 Hen. III. m. 11.
[f] Ibid. m. 4 d.
[g] Fœdera, I. 221.

on their return from Brittany.[a] A quarrel then existed between the barons of the Cinque Ports and the inhabitants of Bayonne, arising no doubt from the seizure of their ships and goods by the English cruizers. In June 1237, the King found it necessary to interfere; and on the 26th of that month he issued peremptory commands to the barons, that there should be a firm peace and concord between them and the citizens of Bayonne.[b] A. D. 1237.

Five years elapsed without any important occurrence of a maritime character. In consequence of some Bretons having committed depredations on the King's subjects in Guernsey and Jersey, the bailiffs of Southampton were commanded, in July 1241, to prepare with the utmost haste two boats,[c] well equipped, to go there for the purpose of ascertaining who the parties were, and to report on the state of those islands.[d] Towards the close of 1241, Henry, instigated by his mother, who had married the Count de la Marche, determined to assist the Count in his quarrel with the French monarch; and, on the return of the Earl of Cornwall from the Holy Land in January 1242, it was agreed that the King should conduct an army to Poitou in person. Great preparations were made for the expedition. In January the barons of the Cinque Ports were commanded to assist the sheriff of Kent in impressing ships for the King's service,[e] and they were soon after empowered to arrest foreign ships for the same purpose.[f] On the 20th of February the bailiffs of the ports were desired to arrest all ships capable of carrying fifteen A. D. 1241. A. D. 1242.

[a] Rot. Patent. 20 Hen. III. m. 6.
[b] Fœdera, I. 232.
[c] "Batellos."
[d] Rot. Liberate, 25 Hen. III. m. 6.
[e] Rot. Patent. 26 Hen. III. m. 11.
[f] Ibid.

A. D. 1242. or more horses.[a] Persons were sent to each sea-port to impress two hundred of the best ships, that could each carry twenty horses at the least, which ships were to be at Portsmouth by Palm Sunday to transport the King's army.[b] The King's galleys, which were in Ireland, at Winchelsea, and at other places, were also ordered to be sent there at the same time;[c] and, on the 21st of March, twenty of the best vessels that had been arrested were directed to be reserved for the use of the King and of his suite, and they were to be properly stored and victualled.[d] The Cinque Ports furnished their usual number of ships and men; and after "visiting the shrines of many saints, commending himself to the prayers of the clergy, and saluting the citizens of London," Henry went to Portsmouth on the 21st of April.[e] Having completed his arrangements, and taking with him thirty casks filled with money,[f] the King sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of May,[g] accompanied by the Queen, his brother the Earl of Cornwall, seven other earls, and three hundred knights; but, the wind failing, the fleet was obliged to anchor again. On the next day, however, they put to sea, and before

[a] Rot Claus. 26 Hen. III. m. 9; and Rot. Patent. p. 1, m. 9.

[b] Ibid. m. 7.

[c] Ibid. p. 1, m. 7.

[d] Ibid. p. 1, m. 8.

[e] Matt. Paris, p. 395.

[f] "Et repletis triginta cadis desideratissimis esterlingis." Many entries on the Close Rolls show that money was every where collected, and that many gifts were made to the King by different persons for his expedition. Even so small a sum as five marks were given to the King "in aid of his voyage." Of the money taken to France 3000 marks were to be paid to Isabella, the King's mother, and to her husband the Count de la Marche, in case the truce between England and France were broken. Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. m. 7.

[g] Matt. Paris, p. 395, says 'the Ides of May,' but, according to the Waverley Annals, Henry sailed on Friday after the Invention of the Holy Cross, *i. e.* on the 10th of May, which agrees with instruments being tested by the Archbishop of York, on the 12th of May.

the 18th arrived at St. Matthew in Brittany, whence A.D. 1242.
they sailed to Rions at the mouth of the Gironde, where the King landed, and proceeded immediately to the city of Pons.[a]

Though the French monarch ordered twenty-four well-armed galleys to be at Rochelle to resist the invasion,[b] they offered no opposition to the English fleet. On the 8th of June, Henry sent a mandate from Saintonge to the Archbishop of York, the Custos of the Realm, and Sir William de Cantilupe, stating that he had declared war against France; but, as he was in great want of men and money, he desired them to use every exertion in their power to raise supplies, and to provide two hundred knights and one hundred horse-soldiers. They were also directed to consult with Sir Bertram de Criol as to the best means of harassing the French King on the coasts of Brittany, Normandy, and Boulogne, with fire and other injuries, both by sea and land, by the men of the Cinque Ports.[c] The King likewise addressed the barons of those ports, demanding the immediate aid of their ships, well equipped and manned for that purpose; but they were forbidden to injure churches, or the King's own subjects, or any one having his safe-conduct. The precept contained also this remarkable reservation, which shows that the Crown had a share of all property taken from the enemy by the vessels of the Cinque Ports: "Saving also to us our fifth, which ye know belongs unto us, of the profits which ye acquire in

[a] Matt. Paris, 395; Hemingford, 574; Wikes, 45; Waverley Annals, 203.

[b] Matt. Paris, 394.

[c] Fœdera, I. 246.

A. D. 1242. war :"[a] and the barons were informed, that, the more manfully they conducted themselves against the French, the more highly would he esteem them. As an inducement to the Cinque Ports to perform unusual service in this war, the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Cornwall, Sir William de Cantilupe, and Sir Bertram de Criol, constable of Dover, engaged to use their influence with the King, after his return from France, to induce him to grant them letters-patent, that their having consented to keep the coast of England and the sea, and to injure the King's enemies at their own cost, should not be in any way prejudicial to their liberties; and the barons on their part promised, that, in the mean time, they would not cause any forfeiture by the King's men, nor by any one having his letters of safe-conduct.[b]

In the autumn, the French King ordered all English merchants in his dominions to be arrested and their goods seized; a measure which excited great indignation, for "it inflicted," says Matthew Paris, "a deep wound upon the ancient dignity of Gaul, which had always offered an asylum to wanderers and exiles, especially those of peaceful pursuits, whence the very name of France originated." Cruelty and injustice almost necessarily lead to retaliation; and, on the 20th of September, commands were issued to the mayors of London, Bristol, Northampton, and other places, to arrest all the French merchants therein, because the King had heard for certain that the King of France had arrested all the English merchants in his kingdom; but the merchants of Flanders, and others having the King's letters of protection, were

[a] Fœdera, I. 246. [b] Ibid. I. 250.

not to be molested.[a] In this instance, however, the retaliation was conformable to law. It was one of the provisions of Henry's great charter of liberties in 1225, that foreign merchants should have safe-conducts to enter and quit England; and, while here, to trade freely by land or water without injury, according to old and lawful custom, except in time of war; and if any merchants belonging to a country that had declared war were in the King's territories at its commencement, they were to be attached, though without injury to their persons or goods, until the King knew in what manner the merchants of his dominions were treated in the belligerent state; and, "if our merchants be well treated there, theirs shall likewise be so treated with us."[b] This enactment was, in principle, repeated in many subsequent reigns. A. D. 1242.

Henry having requested military and pecuniary assistance, reinforcements and supplies were sent to Gascony under the conduct of the Cinque Ports. The nobility of England and Ireland, ashamed to remain idle at home while their Sovereign was waging war abroad, wished to join the King, and so many of them embarked for the purpose, that their ships formed a large naval force.[c] As soon as the French sailors and pirates,[d] who were guarding the opposite coast, heard of the expedition, they armed and fitted out ships and galleys,[e] and put to sea to attack the English; but, before the fleets met, both were completely dis-

[a] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. p. 2, m. 4.

[b] "Et si nostri salvi sint ibi, alii sint in terra nostra." Statutes of the Realm, ed. 1810, i. 24.

[c] "Et facta est ex ipsis classis copiosa et navalis exercitus formidabilis." Matt. Paris omits to state that the barons of England were summoned to the King's assistance by special writs on the 8th of June 1242. Fœdera, i. 246.

[d] "Nautæ et piratæ."

[e] "Aptatis armamentis navalibus, erectis velis in puppibus et directis, in galeis remis multiplicatis."

A. D. 1242. persed by a sudden storm. Driven before the wind in great confusion, the crews scarcely knew friends from foes, and consulted only their own safety. The French ships being, however, nearer to their own shore, and the wind more favourable for them, they succeeded in getting into harbour; while the English and Irish ships, "fearing alike," says the honest historian, "the elements and the French, fled in shame, in fear, and bitterness of heart, they knew not where, and came to remote and unknown coasts." So great were the sufferings of those on board, that the Abbot of Evesham, Sir Richard de Burgh, and many others never recovered their health, and, unused to a foreign climate, languished until they died; whence it may be inferred that part of the fleet was driven on the coast of Spain or Portugal. This event was severely felt by the King;[a] and, to revenge himself, he issued orders to the Cinque Ports to commit every possible injury upon the French at sea,[b] as well to merchant-ships as to vessels of war. Not satisfied with obeying these commands, the sailors of the Cinque Ports acted with such ferocity, that they "slew and plundered like pirates,"[c] as well their own countrymen, returning from pilgrimages, as foreigners, "sparing neither friends nor neighbours, kith nor kin."

During the war with France, many orders relating to shipping were issued, besides those already noticed. Permission was granted to the inhabitants of Bayonne

[a] Matt. Paris, 397.

[b] These orders do not appear to be recorded, unless Matt. Paris alludes to those issued on the 8th of June; vide p. 199, *ante*. But, on the 11th of January 1243, the King commanded the Archbishop of York to cause the subjects of the French King in England to be harassed ("gravari"), in case any English merchants had been injured abroad. Rot. Patent. 27 Hen. III.

[c] "More piratico rapinis," Matt. Paris.

to attack the French, and others at war with the King, by sea and land; and, in reward of their services, they were promised the first thousand marks belonging to the King, arising from whatever property they might take from the enemy, to assist them in enclosing their town, together with one moiety of the remainder of such property for their wages; but the other moiety was to go to the King.[a] A.D. 1242.

On the 7th of July, the King having learnt that a ship from Spain, laden with horses, silk, and other merchandize, was bound to Rochelle, he directed the Seneschal of Gascony to communicate the fact to the men of Bordeaux, that they might use the greatest diligence in capturing her.[b] A letter was sent to the Archbishop of York and Sir William de Cantilupe on the same day, intimating, that if they thought the King of France would be annoyed by the King's great and smaller galley of Bristol, "which John with the Beard commands," those vessels were to be sent to the coast of Normandy, Brittany, and Boulogne, to do all the damage they could.[c] Similar orders were sent to the Justiciary of Ireland, to despatch, on the same service, all the King's galleys in that country; to the Mayors of Dublin and Waterford, to send all the galleys and ships belonging to those ports; and to the authorities of Bordeaux, to send 300 cross-bowmen and all their galleys.[d]

On the 29th of July ten good and large ships were directed to be sent to Poitou;[e] and, on the 2nd of August, the bailiffs of Dunwich were commanded to send with all speed five ships to Dover, well provided

[a] Rot. Vascon. 26 Hen. III. m. 11.
[b] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. m. 3.
[c] Ibid., dorso.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Ibid. m. 7.

A. D. 1242. with sailors and cross-bow men, together with five boats, and to obey such orders as they might receive from Bertram de Criol, constable of Dover, for the King's service; and similar orders were issued to the bailiffs of Ipswich, Orford, and other places.[a] On the 27th of that month a reinforcement of soldiers was sent to the King in twenty ships; and all persons having ships in the Cinque Ports were requested to send them on the same occasion, if they wished to go for the vintage in the company of the said soldiers.[b]

On the 10th of September, the inhabitants of Yarmouth were ordered to appoint three of the best ships belonging to their town, with six boats and one galley, with an efficient crew and arms, for the protection of their coast, and the annoyance of the King's enemies. William Rese and Robert Tarkell were to be commanders of these vessels, who were to swear before the King's council that they would serve the King faithfully, and deliver to the two persons named everything they might capture from the enemy, who were to give the crews their shares, and reserve the King's portion for him.[c] A few days afterwards the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk were directed to send every vessel of eighty tons and upwards, in Dunwich, Yarmouth, and Ipswich, except those above mentioned, with the first fair wind to Portsmouth, to convey troops to the King in Gascony.[d] For the defence of these and the other ships, the constable of the Tower was directed, in October, to deliver out of the King's store there 3000 arrows.[e] On the 3rd

[a] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III.
[b] Ibid. p. 2, m. 6.
[c] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. m. 5.
[d] Ibid. m. 4.
[e] Ibid.

of November, the masters of the galleys of Bayonne and others were ordered to remain with their galleys, because the wooden castle made between the two seas, in the isle of Rhé, could not speedily be erected.[a] On the 20th of that month the sheriff of Southampton was directed to arrest all ships entering that port, and to send five of them, manned with English subjects, to the King.[b] A. D. 1242.

On the 21st of January, the constable of Dover was ordered to send the first fifteen good ships that entered the Cinque Ports to Portsmouth, to convey stores and provisions to Gascony;[c] and a cog which had been captured at sea by Henry Pitchrope, was directed to be manned and armed and sent to the King, to convey to England the wine he had bought in Gascony.[d] Early in February, the barons of the Cinque Ports were commanded to provide good galleys for the annoyance of the King's enemies.[e] On the 13th of that month, licences were granted to several persons, and their companions, to annoy the enemy by sea and land, provided that the King received one-half of their gains; and general orders were issued that their barge, ship, or galley should not be molested; and a similar licence was granted to the master of a ship called La Heyte.[f] These remarkable licences will be again noticed. A. D. 1243.

The French adopted vigorous and successful measures to protect their shores. After many shameful

[a] Rot. Pat. 27 Hen. III. Some merchandize in a ship which was arrested at Bordeaux was ordered to be sold towards building this wooden castle. Ibid. m. 13.

[b] Ibid. m. 10.

[c] Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. m. 9.

[d] Rot. Vasc. 27 and 28 Hen. III. m. 11.

[e] Rot. Patent. et Chart. 27 Hen. III. m. 17.

[f] Ibid. m. 16.

A. D. 1243. defeats, the wardens of the Cinque Ports were obliged to apply to the Archbishop of York for assistance;[a] and their statements present a deplorable picture of the English Navy. They said, they had been thrice repulsed by the enemy with ships, men, and goods, especially by the inhabitants of Calais; that neither the ships of the Cinque Ports, nor even the whole English fleet, were capable of resisting the fleet which the French had prepared;[b] and they entreated the Archbishop to consult with the King's council on the imminent danger that threatened the country.[c] They added, that the Count of Brittany, with all the shipping[d] of Brittany and Poitou, well armed and equipped, was waiting to intercept vessels passing between England and the King; that, to increase their distress, the Normans and sailors of Whitsand and Calais scarcely permitted them to fish; that the pirates who guarded the high sea with their galleys[e] would not suffer even pilgrims to return home; and that such was the position of the King, that Bordeaux might be considered his prison, unless money and ships were immediately dispatched to him. At the time when this representation was made to the Archbishop of York, he could hardly venture to send the King's ships of burthen to him; and he therefore earnestly advised Henry to settle his affairs there, and hasten to England.[f] The King adopted this advice. On the

[a] Matt. Paris, p. 399.

[b] "Asserebant etiam veraciter se non posse, nec etiam omnem classem Angliæ, classi piratæ ex adversa parte resistere." Matt. Paris.

[c] The wardens seem to allude to the probability of irruptions on the English coast. "Provideat igitur sibi Regale concilium de sibi et nobis paratis et parandis insidiis occultis et manifestis irruptionibus in proximo dirius et durius imminentibus."

[d] "Navigium."

[e] "Piratæ quoque cum galeiis alta maris custodientes."

[f] Matt. Paris, p. 406. The follow-

7th of April a truce was concluded with France for five years;[a] and orders were forwarded to the Archbishop to collect a fleet, and send it to bring him home.[b] A few days after the truce was concluded, the King informed the barons of the Cinque Ports of the fact, and directed that no passage should be made to France from any other port than Dover, as had always hitherto been the case.[c] A. D. 1243.

In April the masters of ships were desired to repair with their vessels to Gascony, in order that the King's return to England might not be impeded by the want of shipping.[d] The mayor of Oleron was directed to find barges for the defence of the isle of Rhé, and to assist the galleys which were at the siege of Rochelle.[e] On the 18th of July, the King informed Dreu Barantine that it was his intention to embark for England on the 2nd of August, and he was therefore enjoined to go to Brittany with all the ships and galleys he could collect, to conduct him to England.[f] The mayor of Bayonne was charged to provide four galleys for the King's service, which were afterwards sent to Bordeaux;[g] and, on the 18th of August, he was ordered to fit out two galleys to convey the King to St. Matthew's in Brittany.[h]

The Cinque Ports were ordered in July to send their ships to bring the King to England, and he embarked about the end of August. One of the few

ing punning epigram was made to the King:—

"In terris galeas, in aquis formido galeias;
"Inter eas et eas, consulo cautus eas."

[a] Fœdera, I. 251.
[b] Matt. Paris, 407.
[c] Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. m. 6.
[d] Rot. Patent. et Chart. 27 Hen. III. m. 3.
[e] Ibid. m. 25.
[f] Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. m. 6.
[g] Rot. Patent. et Chart. 27 Hen. III. m. 6.
[h] Ibid. m. 4.

A. D. 1243. written mandates issued by a King of England at sea, is the order of Henry the Third, dated on board ship[a] on the 16th of September 1243, to the provost of Oleron, to allow some friars in that island to have wood for their fires. The King landed at Portsmouth on the 25th of that month. Richard King of the Romans, the King's brother, having contracted to marry Sanchia, a daughter of Raymond Count of Provence, and sister of the Queens of England, France, Naples, and Navarre, "two good and safe ships" were ordered to be sent to Whitsand on the 25th of October, to convey that lady and her mother, Beatrix, daughter of Thomas, Count of Savoy, to England.[b]

For some years, Sir William de Marish, a knight who had been accused of murder and treason, took refuge in the isle of Lundy; and, being joined by many other criminals, he became a formidable pirate. Vessels passing up the Bristol Channel were plundered of their cargoes, especially provisions; and these outlaws landed on the neighbouring shores, where they committed every kind of excess. In October 1237, restitution of some property was made to the brother of a man whose ship had been robbed at sea, and himself slain, by William de Marish and his comrades.[c] Their proceedings caused an order to be issued to the Earl of Devon and others, in February 1242, to guard the coast opposite to Lundy, so that no injury might occur from the King's enemies, who held themselves in that island.[d] It being impossible to take Marish and his band by force, he was at length

[a] "Teste Regi *in navi* xvj. die Septembris." Rot. Vasc. 27 Hen. III. m. 4.

[b] Rot. Claus. 27 Hen. III. m. 1.

[c] Ibid. 21 Hen. III. m. 2.

[d] Rot. Pat. 26 Hen. III. Some of Marish's family seem to have been several years in Lundy, for, in

captured by a stratagem; and being conveyed in chains, with sixteen of his associates, to London, was there executed.[a] In June 1242, the sheriff of Devon was ordered to carry the galley which Marish had commenced building in Lundy, but which was not finished, to Ilfracombe, and to cause it to be there completed, that it might be ready for launching whenever the King pleased.[b] A. D. 1243.

Except that in August 1248 some ships were retained to go in the King's service to Gascony,[c] nothing of a naval character occurred until 1253, when the King considered that his presence was required in that province.[d] Writs were issued, summoning all barons and knights to assemble at Portsmouth, fully equipped with horses and arms, by the middle of June. Vessels capable of carrying men or stores were violently impressed[e] for their passage, whether belonging to this or to any other country, and they are said to have amounted to one thousand ships; but, the wind being unfavourable, the owners and masters, says Matthew Paris, uselessly protracted their stay for three months, whereby great loss was incurred. It was not until the beginning of August that the wind became fair, and on the 6th of that month Henry embarked at Portsmouth, accompanied by three hundred large ships, and a numerous fleet of small vessels. The King en- A. D. 1248. A. D. 1253.

June 1235, licence was granted to Jordan de Marish to leave that Island, and come to England. Rot. Pat. 19 Hen. III.

[a] Matt. Paris, 395. The Waverley Annals state that Marish was executed about June 1242.

[b] Rot. Liberate, 26 Hen. III. m. 5.

[c] Rot. Patent. 32 Hen. III.

[d] In April 1253, Henry the Third contemplated going to the Holy Land, but nothing seems to have been done respecting his voyage. Fœdera, I. 289.

[e] "Fecit capi violenter omnes naves institorum, tam transmarinorum quam cismarinorum." Matt. Paris, 581.

A. D. 1253. trusted the government of England to the Queen, and his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, during his absence, whom he also appointed guardians of his eldest son Prince Edward;[a] and it is said, that after Henry had taken a tender leave of his son, kissing and weeping bitterly over him, the noble boy could not be induced to quit the shore while the sails of his father's fleet remained in sight.[b] Henry landed at Bordeaux about the 15th of August;[c] and towards the end of the year information reached England that Alfonso, King of Castile and Leon, had entered Gascony with an army of Christians and Saracens, and intended, it was supposed, to invade England and Ireland.[d] A great council was summoned to meet in January, when large reinforcements were ordered to be sent to Henry in Gascony; and all shipping, capable of carrying sixteen or more horses, were arrested for the conveyance of the Queen, Prince Edward, the Earl of Cornwall, and other magnates, to that province.[e] Peace was however concluded with the King of Castile on the 1st of April; part of the conditions being, that Prince Edward should proceed to Bordeaux, and, having received the order of knighthood from Alfonso, serve under him in a war against the infidels;[f] and it was soon after agreed that he should marry that monarch's daughter, the Princess Eleanor.

A. D. 1254. A remarkable circumstance happened in this year. During a violent storm, several ships, which the chronicler calls "barbarians,"[g] were driven on shore near

[a] This appointment was made at Portsmouth on 7th of July 1253. Fœdera, I. 291.

[b] Matt. Paris, 581.

[c] Ibid. 582; Hemingford, 577.

[d] Fœdera, I. 295, 296; Rot. Claus. m. 14 and 13.

[e] Ibid. 295; Rot. Patent. 38 Hen. III.

[f] Fœdera, I. 297, 298.

[g] "Quædam barbarorum naves, quibus non sunt visæ penes nos

Berwick. They are described as having been large and handsome vessels, but unlike anything ever before seen in this country; well provided with naval stores and provisions, and laden with coats of mail, shields and weapons of all kinds, enough for an army. The keepers of the coast arrested the crews "as barbarians,[a] or spies, or even enemies;" and on being asked by the bailiffs who they were, whence they came, and where they were going, they refused to answer; but as the bailiffs did not, it is said, understand their language,[b] it is more probable that an erroneous interpretation was given to their replies than that they remained silent. The conduct of the bailiffs was creditable to their humanity; for, when these foreigners expected to be put to death, they were allowed to depart in safety, "that they might not find men more cruel than the storm." The other motive assigned for this generous act, "lest vengeance should follow," meant, it may be hoped, the fear of the Divine displeasure if they had done otherwise.[c] A. D. 1254.

The King sailed from Gascony towards the end of December 1254, and after a favourable voyage landed at Dover.[d] The Cinque Ports showed their satisfaction at Henry's return by presenting him with some jewels, for which he sent them a letter of thanks on the 11th of February 1255.[e] In the autumn, the King ordered Prince Edward to make arrangements A. D. 1255.

consimiles, magnæ quidem et elegantes."

[a] "Quasi barbaros, vel exploratores, vel etiam inimicos."

[b] Matt. Paris adds here, that "the bailiffs saw other ships at sea."

[c] Matt. Paris, 592. Southey (I. 194), who has taken the fact only from Holinshed, thinks that these ships were Norwegians; but the vessels of Norway and of the other northern countries must have been too well known to the people of England to have been termed "barbarians."

[d] Matt. Paris, 605; Annals of Waverley, 210.

[e] Fœdera, I. 314.

A. D. 1255. for the safety of Gascony; and, unless he were afraid to undertake the voyage at that time of the year, he was to proceed before the winter to Ireland, and thence to come to England by the ensuing Easter.[a] The island of Oleron, so particularly cherished by the House of Plantagenet, and so intimately connected with early naval history,[b] had been granted to the Prince for life; but he having incautiously ceded it to Guy de Lusignan, Henry revoked the gift in October 1257,[c] and, after re-granting it to his son, promised its inhabitants, in July 1258, that it should never be alienated from the Crown of England,[d] which promise he repeated in 1259, and again in 1261.[e]

A. D. 1259. In January 1259, Richard King of the Romans, having suddenly manifested an intention to come to England, the peers were suspicious of his motives, fearing that he might instigate the King to disregard the compact which he had formed with the barons in October 1258, for the better government of the realm.[f] They therefore required him, before he landed, to swear not to do anything contrary to the public welfare. Their messengers found Richard on the sea-coast, collecting a large army, and were received with frowns and threats. "By God's throat!" he said, he would neither take the oath, nor agree to any conditions. The barons consequently lost no time in assembling numerous ships and galleys, as well from the Cinque as from other ports, and filled them with

[a] Fœdera, I. 326.
[b] Vide p. 93, *ante*.
[c] Fœdera, I. 365, 374, 378.
[d] Ibid. 374.
[e] Ibid. 388, 404.
[f] Ibid. 377, 378. A curious letter from Henry the Third to the King of the Romans, dated on the 4th of November, requesting him to swear to observe that agreement, is on the Close Rolls, 43 Hen. III. m. 13. d.

men and arms, who, being animated with the recollection of the defeat of the French fleet by an inferior force in 1217, were burning with ardour to attack the enemy. As, however, Richard then consented to take the proposed oath, these, and similar hostile preparations, which were made for the defence of the coast in case of failure at sea, ceased to be necessary.[a] A. D. 1259.

On the 1st of November, the barons of the Cinque Ports were ordered to assist the marshal of the household in preparing for the King's passage from Dover;[b] and, on the 14th of that month,[c] Henry, accompanied by the Queen, crossed the channel, and proceeded to Paris, where, on the 4th of December, the treaty of peace between Louis the Ninth and Henry, which had been made by Simon de Montfort, was confirmed in the presence of the two monarchs.[d] About the end of April, or early in May 1260, Henry and his consort returned to England.[e] The royal authority had for some time been exercised by the Earl of Leicester, leaving to Henry little besides the name of King; but, in February 1261, he recovered his power; and, going in person to Dover, on the 2nd of May he took into his own hands the castle, the custody of the Cinque Ports, and the chamberlainship of Sandwich. On the following day he dismissed Hugh le Bigot from these important posts, and appointed Robert Walerand to be his successor.[f] A. D. 1260. A. D. 1261.

In the summer of 1262, Henry was induced to visit the King of France, and embarked at Dover on the 14th of July;[g] but he returned to England a few A. D. 1262.

[a] Matt. Paris, 661, 662.
[b] Rot. Patent. 44 Hen. III.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Fœdera, I. 392.
[e] Ibid. Hemingford, 578.
[f] Rot. Patent. 45 Hen. III.
[g] Ibid. 46 Hen. III.

A. D. 1263. days before Christmas.[a] Some time in 1263, but the precise date is not mentioned, Robert de Neville, to whom the chief command in the north had been entrusted, wrote to the Chancellor that it was confidently reported that the Kings of Denmark and Norway, with a large fleet, had landed in the Scottish isles; that their intentions were unknown, but that danger might be apprehended.[b]

The civil wars, which desolated England in 1263 and 1264, produced some events of a maritime character. The French monarch having undertaken to arbitrate between Henry and his rebellious barons, he embarked for France on the 24th of December 1264, leaving his brother Richard, Regent of England, but he returned about the beginning of March.[c] A few days after the battle of Lewes had placed the royal authority in the hands of the Earl of Leicester, he appointed his eldest son, Henry de Montfort, keeper of the Cinque Ports. The vessels belonging to those ports soon afterwards committed great depredations, with, it is supposed, the sanction, if not by the commands, of Montfort. Having fitted out numerous piratical vessels,[d] they scoured the sea in all directions, took possession of every ship they met, as well English as foreigners, and murdered their crews and pas-

[a] Fœdera, I. 423.

[b] Ibid. 429. It is stated in the Chronicle of the Kings of Man, in Camden's "Chorographia," that, in 1260, Haco King of Norway "came into the parts of Scotland, and without achieving aught, turning his course towards the Orcades, he there deceased at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen." Other authorities state that Haco contended with the King of Scotland about the Isles, but, being defeated, he died of chagrin in 1263; which agrees with the rumour of his arrival in the preceding year.

[c] Rot. Claus. 48 Hen. III.

[d] Fœdera, I. 441. According to *Wikes (II. 61), after the King had* defeated the Londoners, he hastened to the Cinque Ports, and endeavoured to induce them to send a large fleet to prevent any supplies from being forwarded to the metropolis.

sengers without mercy. "More cruel than Scylla or Charybdis," says the continuator of Matthew Paris, "for they slaughtered the merchants who were accustomed to bring commodities to England, without distinction of persons." To such an extent was their audacity carried, that when the Pontiff sent a Cardinal Legate to reconcile the King and the barons, they prevented his landing; for which offence the Pope excommunicated them, and put them under an interdict.[a] The lawless proceedings of the Cinque Ports enhanced the prices of all foreign goods, so that wines were raised from forty shillings to ten marks; wax, which had sold for forty shillings, produced eight marks; a pound of pepper rose from sixpence to three shillings; and there was a great scarcity of salt, iron, steel, cloths, and other wares. The merchants were further harassed by Leicester's eldest son having seized all the wools imported from Flanders and elsewhere.[b] A. D. 1263. A. D. 1264.

Though the King was a prisoner in the hands of the Earl of Leicester, his cause was warmly espoused by the Pope, and by some Foreign nations. Queen Eleanor, assisted by her son, the Earl of Lancaster, having borrowed money for the purpose, raised a considerable army of mercenaries at Damme for the recovery of her husband's liberty; and a fleet of transports was collected in that port to convey the troops to England.[c] Leicester took vigorous measures to resist the invasion. He summoned, in the King's name, all who owed military service to the Crown to take arms and oppose the landing of "aliens,"[d] a-

[a] Contin. of Matt. Paris, p. 671.

[b] Waverley Annals, 589.

[c] Wikes apud Gale, p. 63. Rot. Claus. 48 Hen. III., *passim*.

[d] "Alienigenarum."

A. D. 1264. term always obnoxious to English ears, who had, he said, collected a fleet from all quarters; and he ordered the daily pay of the soldiers to be augmented from three to four pence.[a] Orders were issued on the 29th of June, forbidding any one to enter or quit the realm at any other port than Dover; in August it was also prohibited to embark there;[b] and afterwards the bailiffs on the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk were charged not to allow any ships or barges to pass their ports for places abroad.[c] In July, the masters and crews of the ships of Bayonne, then in Flanders, were enjoined not to presume to bring any persons with horses and arms to this country.[d] On the 22nd of July 1264, the under-constable of Dover was informed that a ship belonging to Thomas Vivian of Dunwich had been arrested at Winchelsea, and that twenty-three other ships had been impressed at Bourdeaux, so that the town of Dunwich and the adjacent coast were, from the want of shipping, exposed to the danger of aliens invading England; and he was therefore commanded to send the said ship from Winchelsea to Dunwich immediately.[e] The barons of the Cinque, and the bailiffs of all the other ports, were informed, on the 16th of August, that the King, with the advice of the magnates of his council, had ordered all the ships of the realm, properly equipped and well manned with men-at-arms, to assemble off Sandwich for the defence of the kingdom "against the hostile approach of aliens;" and they were accordingly enjoined, in the strongest terms, instantly to send every

[a] Rot. Claus. 48 Hen. III. m. 4.
[b] Ibid. m. 3.
[c] Rot. Patent. 48 Hen. III.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Rot. Claus. 48 Hen. III. m. 4. d.

vessel from their respective ports to that rendezvous. A. D. 1264.
The bailiffs were further commanded not to allow any wines or goods then in their ports to be removed; nor to permit any injury to be done to the realm by sea, nor any robberies, depredations, or other wrongs to be committed by any of their people; but to assist, as far as lay in their power, in the defence of the country.[a] On the 1st of September, three hundred of the best Genoese archers, who were stationed on the coast between Romney and Winchelsea, were sent to the latter place for its defence;[b] and, on the 3rd, the mayor and sheriffs of London were told, that, by reason of the immediate coming of aliens into the realm, the King had pressing need of the galley and great ship which were at London; and they were commanded to cause those vessels to be manned with men-at-arms and good cross-bowmen, and sent immediately to Sandwich. The wages of the crews and soldiers were directed to be paid out of the "commons" of the city; but if this could not be done, the King promised to pay them on their arrival.[c] A loan was raised about this time, to fit out ships, and for the wages of the seamen.[d] Sir Thomas de Multon, a distinguished baron, was appointed "Captain

[a] Rot. Claus. 48 Hen. III. m. 4. d.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Rot. Patent. 48 Hen. III. Dr. Lingard states that Leicester himself took the command of a squadron, and cruised in the Channel to oppose the Queen's fleet; but neither the authorities whom he cites, nor any entry on the Close or Patent Rolls, show that Leicester took command of the fleet in person. All that Wikes says is, "Quo audito Comes de universis Angliæ provinciis innumerabilem populum convocavit, ipseque tanta multitudine circumcinctus portus Cantiæ diligentissime custodivit, misitque Henricum Dispensarium in Suffolciam et Norfolciam, &c. Itaque Comes ut applicare volentes favente sibi virtute repelleret quinque Portuenses, quosdam timore compulit, quosdam amore pellexit quod innumeras sibi classes piraticas construebant, convagantes in pelago ut exciperent et congrederentur cum eis in salo." p. 64.

A. D. 1264. and Keeper of the Sea and Sea-coast," a title which appears to have been created for the first time; and on the 30th of September the inhabitants of all the ports were enjoined to assist him in fitting out ships.[a] As it was of the utmost consequence to secure the adherence of the people of the Cinque Ports, between whom and those of Yarmouth a quarrel had arisen, probably from the successful defence of their vessels and goods against one of those lawless attacks so forcibly described by contemporary writers, the Cinque Ports were promised, that, as soon as the disturbances in the realm were settled, the King would cause compensation to be made to them for the injuries they had sustained from the burgesses of Yarmouth.[b]

Contrary winds detained the Queen's fleet in port until the period for which her mercenaries had agreed to serve had expired; and her money being exhausted, she could no longer pay her troops, who returned to their own countries, when she proceeded sorrowfully to France.[c] In the following year the defection of some of Leicester's most powerful confederates, the escape of Prince Edward, and the battle of Evesham, restored Henry's authority.

A. D. 1269. In September 1269, a truce was concluded with France for five years;[d] and Prince Edward determined[e] to join Saint Louis, King of France, and other great princes, in a crusade for the relief of Jerusalem; but

A. D. 1270. it was not until the middle of the following year that

[a] Rot. Patent. 48 Hen. III.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Wikes, p. 63.
[d] Fœdera, I. 482.
[e] Letters of protection were granted to the Prince for that purpose on the 19th of October 1216. Fœdera, I. 482.

his preparations were completed. The thirteen[a] ships in which the Prince and his followers were to embark assembled at Portsmouth; and he appears to have sailed early in August,[b] attended by his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, four other earls, numerous barons, many knights,[c] and a large retinue.[d] A. D. 1270.

After a favourable passage through the Straits of Gibraltar, the Prince arrived at Aiguemort, near Montpellier, about the 29th of September; and finding that the French King, with the other princes, had gone to Tunis, he sailed for that place on the 3rd of October. King Louis died at Tunis on the 25th of August, and it is not improbable that the Prince received intelligence of the event before he put to sea. He landed for a short time in Sardinia,[e] and arrived at Tunis about the 13th or 14th of October,[f] where he found the new King of France, Philip the Third, the Kings of Navarre and Sicily, and other illus-

[a] Hemingford, 589.

[b] There is great discrepancy in the statements of chroniclers respecting the dates of the Prince's voyage. Matthew Paris (678) and Matthew of Westminster (400) say the Prince sailed in "May." Wikes says he left England "in the quinzime of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist," *i. e.* the 8th of July: but Edward was certainly in England after that time, for, on the 2nd of August, he executed an instrument at Winchester, appointing his uncle Richard King of the Romans, guardian of his children during his absence (Fœdera, I. 484), and he is stated to have arrived at Aiguemort about Michaelmas.

[c] The names of the barons, knights, and others who took the Cross on that occasion are in the Fœdera, I. 483.

[d] According to the Annals of Waverley, the squadron intended to touch at some port in Gascony; but the first place at which it is expressly said to have arrived was at Aiguemort, near Montpellier. If, however, the Prince left England early in August, and did not arrive at Aiguemort until Michaelmas, he probably remained for a short time in some other French port.

[e] Matthew of Westminster, 400.

[f] Ten days after he sailed from Aiguemort, say Hemingford and Matthew Paris. The Annals of Waverley state that the Prince left Aiguemort "on Friday after the feast of St. Michael, to wit, on the 5th of the Nones of October," [3rd October,] and arrived at Tunis on "Sunday after the feast of St. Martin [*i. e.* 16th November], scil. the Calends of December," which would have been on the 30th of November, and which is clearly wrong.

A. D. 1270. trious personages, with their respective ships. After the death of Louis, the chief command of the expedition was assumed by the King of Sicily, when it was resolved to winter in that Island, and to defer the voyage to the Holy Land until the ensuing spring.

On the 22nd of November,[a] the united squadrons arrived at Trepani, and anchored about a mile off the town, there not being water enough for them to approach closer, as they were very large ships, having two sails, and were heavily laden.[b] Boats being sent from the shore, the Kings and other principal persons landed. In the evening a storm came on, which drove the ships from their anchors; and, running on board of each other, great damage was done, and many lives lost, some vessels having foundered.[c] None of the thirteen English ships were, however, in the slightest degree injured; which may be attributed to the superior seamanship of their crews, rather than to the special dispensation of Providence.[d] If the writer who gives the fullest account of the gale is to be

[a] The precise time when the Crusaders left Tunis for Trepani is uncertain. Hemingford says the fleet arrived at Trepani on the second day before the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, *i. e.* on the 26th of October, which is impossible; for the King of Sicily issued his orders for Prince Edward's reception in Sicily, at Carthage, on the 18th of November. (Fœdera, I. 486, 487.) Wikes states they came to Trepani on the eve of St. Clement, the 22nd of November; which date, from its agreeing with other facts, has been adopted in the text.

[b] "Erant enim maximæ naves, singulæ habentes duo vela et supra modum onustæ." Hemingford, 589.

[c] The historian of King Philip says, that one of the French ships called Porta Gaudii, or Port of Joy, which had been purposely built for the King, larger and superior to all the others, was so driven about by devils ("ductu diabolico"), that striking against the rest it caused them to founder. He adds, that 4000 persons of both sexes perished; and that eighteen large and strong ships, besides many smaller ones, and numbers of horses were lost. Gesta Philippi Tertii apud Duchesne, v. 522.

[d] Matthew of Westminster, p. 400, ascribes the "miraculous" escape of the English ships to the Divine interposition, because Prince Edward had refused to share in the plunder of Tunis.

credited, the shore was strewed with corpses and drowned horses; and of the whole fleet, in which were embarked fifteen hundred sailors besides common people, the crew of only one ship was saved, and which arose from the following circumstance. Aware of her danger, a noble countess, who was on board that vessel, asked the sailors if, by running the ship on shore, they should be saved, who told her, that if this were done, their lives would be preserved, but the vessel must be wrecked. "Care not for the ship," she exclaimed, "if ye can save your lives: I will pay double its value." Forthwith spreading their two sails,[a] the vessel was so violently propelled against the shore, that it took the ground beyond the reach of the waves, and, as the seaman had predicted, instantly parted into two pieces; but their lives and the cargo were saved.[b] A. D. 1270.

Prince Edward wintered in Sicily, and sailed for Syria in the spring of the following year. Like his great-uncle, King Richard, he touched at Cyprus, and thence sailed direct for Acre,[c] where he landed with a thousand soldiers, about the 20th of April.[d] A. D. 1271.

The reign of King Henry the Third was terminated by his death on the 20th of November 1272.

[a] "Statimque duo vela laxantes in altum cum tanto impetu irruerunt in terram." Hemingford.

[b] Hemingford, 589; Annals of Waverley, 224, 227.

[c] Annals of Waverley, 227.

[d] Hemingford, 590.

CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN THE REIGN OF HENRY THE THIRD.—NAMES OF SHIPS.—STORES AND SAILS.—REPAIRS.—CABINS.—ARMAMENT.—OFFICERS AND CREWS.—WAGES.—FREIGHTAGE OF SHIPS.—GREAT SHIPS, GALLEYS, LONG SHIPS, SORNECKS, NASCELLAS, NAVICULA, PASSERETTES, AND BARGES.—DOCKYARDS AT RYE, SHOREHAM, AND WINCHELSEA.—PRIZES RANSOMED AND RESTORED.—IMPRESSMENT OF SHIPS.—SHIPS BELONGING TO MONASTIC HOUSES.—ROBBERIES AT SEA.—PRISONERS OF WAR.—IRISH SHIPS.—PROVISIONS OF SHIPS.—SHIPS SEIZED FOR DEODANDS.—TAXES ON SHIPS.—LIGHT-HOUSE AT WINCHELSEA.—A BANNER AND A LIGHT CARRIED BY COMMANDERS OF FLEETS.—PRIVATEERS.—PIRATES.—SIZE AND CONSTRUCTION OF SHIPS.—LAW OF WRECK.—MARINER'S COMPASS.—NOTICES OF EMINENT NAVAL COMMANDERS; LONGESPEE EARL OF SALISBURY, DE BURGH EARL OF KENT, SIR PHILIP D'ALBINI, EUSTACE THE MONK.—THE CINQUE PORTS.

MANY interesting details elucidate the state of the Navy during the reign of King Henry the Third. "The King's great ships," "the King's own galleys," "the King's great galley," are often mentioned, and the King's fleet[a] is spoken of in a manner which conveys the impression of its having been very numerous. His great ship was called the "Queen;"[b] another great ship bore the name of the "Cardinal," which vessel had been captured, apparently for a breach of blockade, from the Portuguese; and other ships were called the "Galopine," the "Alarde," and the "Paterik;"[c] and one of the King's galleys was called

[a] The barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to select ships from the whole of the King's fleet ("de tota flotta nostra") in 1225! Vide p. 186 *ante*.

[b] Vide p. 221 *post*.

[c] Rot. Patent. 10 Henry III. m. 4.

the "Percevet."[a] The large ships were, however, used for freight rather than for war; and when not required for the King's service, he frequently lent them to merchants, who paid for their use, instead of allowing them to lie up in "ordinary." Thus, in 1226, William Raimund, citizen of Bordeaux, received 33*l.* 10*s.*, which he had paid to Friar Thomas of the Temple, keeper of the King's great ship, for her freightage in going from Rochelle to Bordeaux, with merchandize belonging to the said Raimund, before the ship came to England in the King's service.[b]

Some of the King's mandates to the keepers of his ships afford much information. Friar Thomas, of the Temple, obtained letters of safe conduct in 1225, to take the King's ship the "Cardinal"[c] wheresoever he should be directed;[d] and similar authority was given him to bring the King's great ship from Bordeaux with wine.[e] Two years afterwards he was arrested for sedition,[f] and his office conferred upon Henry Buchard. In 1232, John Blancboilly had the custody of the King's great ship called the "Queen," with all her anchors, cables, and other tackle for his life, to trade wherever he pleased, he paying for her use the annual rent of fifty marks. He was bound, at his own expense, to keep the ship in complete repair against all accidents except perils of the sea, so that at his decease it might be restored to the King in as good a state as when he received it; and all his lands in

[a] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III. m. 3. The keepers of the King's galleys at Portsmouth were ordered to deliver the galley called the "Percevet," with all her stores, to Herbert de Borun, for William de St. John, in Guernsey.

[b] Rot. Liberate, 10 Hen. III. m. 3.

[c] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III. m. 23.

[d] Rot. Patent. 9 Hen. III. m. 7.

[e] Ibid. m. 3.

[f] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III. m. 24.

England were charged with the fulfilment of the contract. Vincent of Hastings, the former keeper of that ship, was directed to deliver her over to Blancboilly, with all her stores, a list of which he was to send to the King; and Blancboilly then received letters of safe conduct for himself and the crew.[a] Various notices occur of the purchase of stores for the King's ships. In 1225 Reiner Fitz-David was permitted to go to Dartmouth, to buy various necessaries for them.[b] The constable of Porchester was commanded to supply Friar Thomas with three boat-loads of fire-wood, two for the King's great ship, and one for the King's two galleys;[c] and twenty-two marks and a half were delivered to him to purchase canvas for the sails, and to make "celtas" for the King's great ship;[d] carts being ordered to convey the "celtas" and "heiras" to her at Portsmouth.[e] In 1225 the bailiffs of Southampton were ordered to buy cordage under the inspection of Stephen Crabbe, an eminent mariner, for the King's great ship at Portsmouth; but if a sufficient quantity were not ready, they were to cause it to be made in all haste, as well by night as by day, and to send it to Portsmouth. They were farther directed to cause three good cables to be made for that ship, together with four dozen "theldorum," and to procure two hundred yards of cloth to repair her sail.[f] In September 1242, a messenger from the Cinque Ports was ordered to receive six hundred yards of canvas which was at Portsmouth, and had been taken from the

[a] Rot. Patent. 16 Hen. III. m. 8.
[b] Ibid. 9 Hen. III. m. 7.
[c] Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. III. m. 25.
[d] Ibid. m. 17.
[e] Ibid. m. 16.
[f] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 50.

enemy, to make sails for the three galleys which the King had ordered to be built; but if there was not that quantity at Portsmouth, whatever was there was to be delivered, and the King informed of the number of yards deficient.[a] Four pounds were paid for building a boat for that ship;[b] and 8*s.* 7*d.* were repaid to the sheriff of York, for a boat and an iron chain belonging to her.[c] In 1229 forty pounds were paid to the King's clerk for the repairs of the King's galleys and great ship at Portsmouth.[d] One hundred marks were paid to Bertram de Criol, in July 1242, for making four light barges[e] for the King's service; and he was directed to place them in the Cinque Ports when he thought it expedient. At the same time the bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to send to Winchelsea, to be delivered up to Criol, the largest of the King's two galleys in their charge; but they were to keep the King's other galley until they received further directions.[f] Notices of cabins occur for the first time. In June 1228 a vessel was ordered to be sent to Gascony, with the King's effects; and 4*s.* 6*d.* were paid "for making a chamber in the said ship to place the King's things in."[g] In 1242 the King went to Gascony accompanied by the Queen; and, among the preparations made for the voyage, convenient cabins or chambers were ordered to be built in the ship in which the King and Queen were about to embark, and which were to be wainscotted.[h]

[a] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. m. 5.
[b] Rot. Liberate, 11 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 9.
[c] Rot. Liberate, 12 Hen. III. m. 6.
[d] Ibid. 13 Hen. III. m. 4.
[e] "Quatuor bargias cursales."—Rot. Liberate, 26 Hen. III. m. 5.
[f] Ibid.
[g] "Ad quandam cameram in prædicta navi faciendam, ad prædictas res nostras imponendas." — Rot. Liberate.
[h] "In navc vero illâ quâ nos et Regina nostra transfretaturi sumus

The King's great ship was well armed, directions having been issued for placing on board of her ten good cross-bows, partly in lieu of some which had been broken, and 5000 quarrels, besides the 5000 before sent.[a]

A few notices of the officers and crews of ships at this period, and of their wages, are deserving of attention. One of the King's great ships appears to have had seven officers, all of whom were called "masters;" for in 1225 one mark was ordered to be paid to each of the six masters of the great ship, namely, Stephen le Vel, German de la Ria, John Fitz-Sampson, Colin de Warham, Robert Gaillard, and Simon Wistlegrei.[b] Seamen being particularly wanted for that vessel, thirty mariners were ordered to be provided by Southampton and Portsmouth, and thirty by Rye;[c] and the barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to send 180 choice mariners to man two of the King's galleys, and his ship the "Cardinal;" and two able masters were to be also sent for the two galleys which were to carry the King's money to Gascony;[d] On another occasion they were desired to choose from among the young men of their ports a sufficient number to man the King's galleys at Portsmouth.[e] In 1226 the sum of 25*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* was paid to the masters and crews of the King's two great ships at Portsmouth, and to those of his two galleys.[f] Jeremy, the master of the King's great ship, was paid sixpence, and the mariners

cameras decentes fieri, et eas lambruscari faciatis."—Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 7.

[a] Ibid. p. 51.

[b] Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. III. vol. II. p. 112. "Liberate et sex *magistris* magne navis nostre, viz. Stephano de Vel unam marcam," &c.

[c] Ib. m. 16.

[d] Rot. Patent. 10 Hen. III. m. 5.

[e] Ibid. 17 Hen. III. m. 1.

[f] Rot. de Liberate, 11 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 5.

threepence a day; and he also received sixteen shillings to purchase a robe.[a] Eleven pounds were paid in November 1227 to the master of the King's great ship and to ten mariners, for keeping his ships and galleys at Portsmouth, at the rate of sixpence a day to the master, and threepence to each sailor;[b] and other records[c] prove that this was then the usual wages of masters and seamen employed in the King's service.

Some facts show that the crew of the King's great ship consisted of thirty men, besides the commander and officers. In 1226 the bailiffs of Rye were enjoined to send thirty select mariners, strong and fit for the King's service, to go in his great ship.[d] Thirty was also the number of the crew of the Portuguese great ship, the "Cardinal."[e]

An account of money paid to the masters and crews of thirteen ships and two cogs, that came to the King at Bordeaux in October 1242, for the arrears of their wages, admits of some inferences. It appears that the ships had from fifteen to twenty-three men each; that one cog carried twenty-six men, and the other sixteen men, besides their respective masters. Many of these vessels bore remarkable names: "La Hog," probably "La Hogue;" the "Belechere;" two were called the "Plenty;" others the "Harriet," the "Garland," the "Charity," the "Demosielle of Dunwich," the "Pinnock," and the "St. Mary." Other remarkable names of ships were "La Planete," "La Espervier," and "La Blithe."

The payments for freightage of ships are stated with

[a] Rot. de Liberate, 12 Hen. III. m. 11

[b] Rot. Liberate, 12 Hen. III.

[c] Liberate Rolls, *passim*.

[d] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 113.

[e] Vide p. 188, *ante*.

sufficient accuracy to admit of safe inferences on the subject. The cost of sending the King's great ship from Rochelle to Bordeaux with merchandize was £33 10*s.*[a] Three ships sent to Poitou in the King's service were paid, for one, £6 12*s.*, for thirty-eight days; for another, £1 11*s.* 6*d.*, for nine days; and for the third, £1 5*s.*, for five days,[b] being from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* a day, according to their size. A person contracted to bring wine from Bordeaux to Southampton for 8*s.* a tun, and to Sandwich for 9*s.*,[c] but which probably included the cost of the wine. In May 1227, Salekin of Dover, and John his nephew, were paid sixty marks for the freight of their ship coming from Gascony to England, in the service of Richard Count of Poitou, the King's brother; and two other persons received sixty pounds for another ship coming from the same place.[d]

Besides "great ships" and "galleys," "long ships," "sornecks,"[e] "nascellas," "passerettes," and "barges" are mentioned. In 1225 the bailiffs of Winchelsea were commanded to deliver to the constable of Dover the two "long ships" which Robert de Nerford had caused to be built for the King's service.[f] On the 1st of August the bailiffs of Sandwich were ordered to allow passage vessels and sornecks[g] of Normandy, and of the territories of the Count of Guisnes, that had been arrested in that port, to depart; but the larger ships were to be detained for the King's service.[h] On

[a] Rot. de Liberate, 10 Hen. III. m. 3.
[b] Liberate Vascon. 26 Hen. III.
[c] Rot. Patent. and Chart. 27 Hen. III. m. 18.
[d] Rot. Liberate, 11 Hen. III.
[e] Vide pp. 76, 129, *ante.*
[f] Rot. Claus. 10 Henry III. m. 14.
[g] "Naves passerettas et sornez de terra."
[h] Rot. Claus. vol. I. p. 570.

another occasion, the sorneck of William le Petit was released from arrest.[a] Sornecks were directed to be provided by the ports of Lynn and Portsmouth;[b] and a person was allowed to have a sorneck to convey his goods abroad.[c] In 1225 license was granted to the prior of Lewes for a sorneck[d] to go to Caen, for stone for the building of his church; and for sornecks and "small nascellas" to go to the territories of the Count of Dreux, provided they did not take corn or meat in them, and gave security to return to their port at the earliest opportunity.[e] The prior of Rungton was permitted to send cheeses and bacon beyond sea in a nascella;[f] and, notwithstanding the general embargo on shipping in 1226, two "nascellas" were to be allowed to sail from Lynn with hides, provided that neither of them was capable of carrying ten horses.[g] Passage vessels between Dover and Whitsand are expressly mentioned. In 1225 the bailiffs of Dover were directed to allow two of the Archbishop of Canterbury's clerks and others to cross over in the usual manner, "in navibus passarettis."[h] The term "nascella" seems to have been used synonymously with "navicula," both meaning a small vessel;[i] and there is nothing to show that they were of peculiar construction, or different, except in size, from ships of burthen.[k] Two of the King's

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. i. p. 605.
[b] Ibid. p. 607.
[c] Rot. Claus. vol. i. p. 605.
[d] "Unam sorneccam." — Rot. Claus. vol. ii. p. 19.
[e] Ibid. p. 90.
[f] In "1 nascella."—Ibid. p. 32.
[g] Ibid. p. 115 b.
[h] Ibid. p. 91.
[i] Vide p. 130, *ante*.
[k] Monsieur Jal has investigated the point with his usual care; ("Archéologie Navale," i. 142;) but his researches afford no idea of the vessel itself. The word thus occurs in a letter in "Matthew Paris," p. 533, from the Holy Land, in which the writer speaks of using "*naviculas*" as a bridge to cross the Nile; and afterwards says that the *said* "*nascellæ*," and other vessels were prepared for that purpose: "Transitum suum per dictas naccllas et alia vasa

barges were commanded to be sent to Portsmouth from Winchelsea, with all their stores and armament.[a]

It is evident that there was a kind of dockyard or arsenal for the King's galleys at Rye, and others apparently at Shoreham and Winchelsea; and that, wherever the King's galleys lay when not wanted for service, they were placed in a covered building, like, perhaps, the covered slips under which ships are now built in the royal dockyards. In August 1240 the sheriff of Sussex was commanded to go himself to Rye, accompanied by four responsible men, and to ascertain in what condition certain persons named would receive the King's galleys from Paulin of Winchelsea and his companions, in whose custody they then were; and he was to cause a list to be made of the stores in the said galleys.[b] An order was soon after issued to repair the galleys at Rye, that they might be ready whenever the King required them.[c] On the 29th of November 1243 the sheriff of Sussex was commanded to enlarge the house at Rye in which the King's galleys were kept, so that it might contain seven galleys; and when this was done, the King's galleys, with all their stores, were to be placed therein, under the superintendence of the four persons named. Two lists of the stores belonging to the galleys were to be made out, one of which lists was to remain with

preparavit." Ducange and Roquefort consider "navicula," "navisole," and "nacelle" the same word, and to mean merely a small vessel. The only quotations of any value are the following:—"Si fist le Soudan venir d'Alexandre 22 galies, et *une navisole* qui portoit la viande et estouvirs des galies."—Ducange. And another from the "Roman de Perceval" in Roquefort, describing a nacella approaching with her sail spread, without rudder or oars:—

"Lon vit un *nacelet* venant,
A voile deploié siglant,
Sans governail, sans aviron."

[a] "Cum armamentis et instrumentis earum."—Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 120.

[b] Rot. Liberate, 24 Hen. III. m. 6.

[c] Ibid. 25 Hen. III. m. 3.

those persons, and the other to be sent to the King.[a] In 1238 the keepers of some of the King's galleys were directed to cause those vessels to be breamed,[b] and a house to be built at Winchelsea for their safe custody; and in 1264 the barons of that place were ordered to pay to James de la Nesse, out of the issues of the town, what was due to him for the hire of the house in which the stores of the King's galleys and barges were deposited.[c] About the same time the expense of repairing the King's galleys at Winchelsea was directed to be placed to the farm of the town, and great expedition was to be used in repairing them.[d] In 1254 the bailiffs of Winchelsea and Rye were ordered to repair the buildings in which the King's galleys were kept at Rye; but, as the whole sum to be expended was not to exceed one mark,[e] the dilapidations could not have been great. The King seems to have been expected there in the preceding year, for in June the sheriff of Sussex was commanded to provide sailors and the necessary stores for the King's two small galleys in the custody of William Beaufoy, at Rye, and to have them ready when the King arrived.

Some of the miscellaneous notices relating to shipping are very interesting in themselves, and throw light on the state of the navy and on the commerce of the period. In 1225 it was declared that the galleys commanded by Maurice Edred and others were the King's own galleys, and were therefore under his

[a] Rot. Liberate, 28 Hen. III. m. 19.
[b] "Bradri."—Rot. Claus. 22 Hen. III. m. 2.
[c] "Pro locagio domus in qua attilium galearum et bargiarum Regis ibidem est depositum."—Rot. Claus. 48 Henry III. m. 4.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Rot. Liberate, 38 Hen. III. m. 1.
[f] Ibid. 37 Hen. III. m. 3.

protection.[a] In 1233 the King's galley was sent with provisions and stores to victual Caermarthen Castle;[b] and he also had galleys at Chester.[c] A vessel laden with fire-wood, going up the Severn to Gloucester, happened to run foul of the King's gurges, below Minsterworth, by which the gurges[d] were injured. The King's officers consequently seized the vessel; but the owner having offered to pay for the damage, the sheriff was directed to take security for the payment, and to release her immediately.[e]

Ships captured from the enemy were sometimes ransomed. In 1227 an order was issued to obtain from the merchants of the ship belonging to the King of France, which was taken at Hartlepool, the largest possible fine, and then to allow it to depart.[f] It has already been stated that the King was entitled to a share of every thing captured in war. In 1242 the constable of Dover was directed to pay to the barons of Winchelsea, towards their assistance against enemies, £100 out of the money found in possession of some French merchants who had been taken; and the said constable and another person were appointed to receive the King's proportion of all the perquisites of the sea during the war between England and France.[g]

When vessels were unjustly captured, they were restored to their owners, on proof being made of

[a] Rot. Patent. 10 Hen. III. m. 4.
[b] Rot. Patent. 17 Hen. III. m. 6.
[c] Rot. Liberate, 33 Hen. III. m. 8.
[d] Gurges are said by Blount to have been "wears;" but there is certainly some difference between gurges and wears, for the Statute 25 Edw. I. c. 4, which he quotes, provides that all "gorges, mills, wears, stanks, stakes, and kiddles," in rivers, by which the navigation of the King's ships and boats was impeded, should be removed.
[e] Rot. Claus. Hen. III. p. 528.
[f] Rot. Claus. vol. II. 163.
[g] Rot. Patent. 26 Hen. III. p. 2. m. 2.

the fact. About August 1242 several mandates were issued, commanding the restoration of all merchandize belonging to foreigners that had been captured since the commencement of the war, except only such as belonged to subjects of the King of France.[a] Thus, the sheriff of Norfolk and others were ordered to take evidence that some goods which had been captured belonged to the Flemish merchants, and then to restore the property to them;[b] and a ship belonging to St. Maloes, which had been taken, was given up, because the King had "granted his peace" to the inhabitants of that place.[c]

Many instances occur, which show that when ships were wanted for the King's service, none were exempted, whether belonging to England or to any Foreign country. In the general arrest of vessels to convey troops to Poitou in 1225, a ship belonging to the Master of the Knights Templars of Spain was seized, and he was paid 200 marks as compensation for her loss.[d] The arbitrary manner in which the wants of the Crown were supplied is shewn by a remarkable proceeding in January 1226. Two ships, laden with spices and other precious merchandize, being expected at Sandwich from Bayonne, orders were issued to arrest those vessels the moment they entered the port, and not to permit any part of their cargoes to be sold until the King had retained as much for his use as he might think proper.[e]

If, during a war, or when there was an arrest of shipping, a vessel passed a port without a licence, a

[a] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. *passim*.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Rot. Patent. and Chart. 27 Hen. III. m. 20.
[d] Rot. Claus. 10 Hen. III. m. 9.
[e] Ibid. p. 96.

heavy fine was imposed upon her master. Thus, in 1226, the bailiffs of Dover were ordered to pay to the Chancellor of London the twelve marks which they had received from a certain ship which had passed Portsmouth without the King's license.[a]

In April 1228, Abraham, the mariner, obtained letters of safe conduct to come to London with the ship in which was found the Elect of Norway, who was afterwards slain;[b] and in May 1236 orders were issued to allow the Archbishop of Nidrosia to sail in his ships for Norway.[c] Monastic houses had ships of their own, which were used in bringing commodities for the use of their members. The vessel belonging to the House of God of Harfleur was called "La Richardene;"[d] and in 1249 the abbot of Cherburgh was permitted to send his ship to England to purchase provisions for his house.[e] During an arrest of shipping in 1254, the small ship belonging to the abbot of La Quarrere was allowed to go wherever he pleased, but his large ship was to be detained for the Queen's passage.[f] Provided the ship of the abbot of Beaulieu was at Portsmouth by Easter in that year, she might go where he thought proper in the meanwhile.[g]

Votive offerings, in the form of ships, appear to have been sometimes made, probably for deliverance in a storm, and carried on board ship. Thomas, the Templar, one of the keepers of the King's navy, had caused a small silver ship to be made of divers collections, in honour of the Holy Cross, for the King's

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. II. 122.
[b] Rot Claus. 12 Hen. III.
[c] Ibid. 20 Hen. III.
[d] Rot. Claus. vol. I. 602.
[e] Rot. Claus. 33 Hen. III.
[f] Ibid. 38 Hen. III.
[g] Ibid.

ship; and in 1227, when he was accused of treason, the bailiffs of Portsmouth were ordered to send the little silver ship by a trustworthy messenger to Bromholm [a]

Robberies of vessels were of frequent occurrence. A mariner called Dennis was committed to Newgate in 1227, for being present when a Spanish ship was plundered and her crew slain at Sandwich.[b] In 1227 the inhabitants of some towns in Norfolk were accused of robbing a Norwegian ship.[c] In May 1264 an inquiry was instituted respecting certain trespasses which had occurred in a conflict at sea between the men of Lynn and those of Dartmouth.[d]

The King sometimes made compensation to foreigners who had been plundered by the ships of the Cinque Ports. In 1225 nine marks were given to Alexander the goldsmith and his seven companions, and to a woman called Margaret, who came from Norway, and were, as they said, robbed by some people of the Cinque Ports, for their support.[e]

Though prisoners of war usually maintained themselves, yet they were occasionally supported by the King. Thus, half a mark each was given to Peter Reimund and Vincent Perry, and their twenty-eight comrades, who had been captured in the great ship of Portugal,[f] for their sustenance, until it were ascertained to whom the goods and merchandize of the ship ought to be assigned.[g] The cargo was delivered up to the mayor and three other citizens of London,

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. II. 172.
[b] Ibid. p. 203b.
[c] Ibid. p. 167.
[d] Rot. Patent. 48 Hen. III.
[e] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 65.
[f] Vide p. 188, *ante*.
[g] Rot. Claus. vol. II. 66.

to make the King's profit thereof,[a] who had paid a fine for the same,[b] except such part as belonged to Normandy, and such as was to be reserved for the King's use.[c] The ship was soon after ordered to be repaired.[d]

Several notices occur relating to vessels in Ireland. In 1233 the men of Dublin were commanded to deliver up their large galley which they had built, to man her with able sailors, and to furnish her with arms and stores for the King's service, and he would pay all expences.[e] About the same time the justiciary of Ireland received orders to deliver the King's great galley which was at Dublin, probably the vessel before mentioned, to a messenger of the burgesses of Bristol;[f] and the justiciary was shortly after directed to send six good galleys to England.[g] In 1243 the justiciary was ordered to pay Richard de Burgh what he had expended in freighting the ships which he took with him in the King's service to Poitou.[h]

Like the King's English vessels, those in Ireland were lent on hire when he no longer wanted them. About 1244 the justiciary received directions to give up to the sailors of Waterford, Drogheda, and Dungarvon the King's two galleys which were at Drogheda, the two at Waterford, and the one at Dungarvon, for them to trade with in any way they could; but he was to take security for their restoration with all their tackle, and for the rent of the vessels, which was to be paid into the Exchequer at Dublin.[i] The justiciary

[a] "Ad faciendum commodum nostrum de mercandisis illis sicut eis injunximus."—Rot. Claus. II. 69.
[b] Ibid. p. 119.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Rot. Patent. 17 Hen. III. m. 1.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Ibid. 19 Hen. III. m. 14.
[h] Ibid. and Chart. 27 Hen. III. m. 7.
[i] Rot. Patent. 28 Hen. III. m. 4.

was commanded in 1217 not to suffer ships laden with merchandize to touch at any ports in the vicinity of Waterford, but they were to proceed to that place, in order that the interests of the King and of the city might not be injured.[a] In the general arrest of ships and seamen in 1217, some citizens of Dublin having been impressed at sea for the King's galleys, they were ordered to be released.[b]

A curious record occurs in the year 1225. The King commanded the justiciary of Ireland, that a ship which Richard de Caune, the servant of Gilbert Livet, a citizen of Dublin, had captured in Brittany, after the surrender of Rochelle, and which the justiciary had arrested, should be delivered up to that person, notwithstanding the claim made to the ship by Helen, widow of Richard Clerk, because she had lost a ship on the same occasion, "forasmuch that it does not appear to us to be just that the said Richard should lose the aforesaid ship, which he acquired in a land at war with us, on account of a ship which the said Helen afterwards lost in the same hostile land." Livet was, however, to give security that he would immediately send the ship into the King's service.[c] Other proceedings took place respecting this ship. A precept was issued to the bailiffs of Southampton, in December 1225, that if Robert Gaillard, who commanded a ship called the "Gaillard," which a woman of Dublin claimed, and which was stolen from her on the coast of Brittany, found security by good men of Bordeaux to produce his warrant thereof before

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. I. pp. 408, 430, 517.

[b] Ibid. p. 335.

[c] Ibid. vol. II. p. 20.

the King, at Westminster, on the 29th of May in the ensuing year, and also gave security to pay the value of the hull of the said ship, as estimated by good and lawful men, if anything happened to it in the meanwhile, they were to permit him to take the ship wherever he pleased.[a] Some time afterwards, the citizens of Bordeaux produced evidence, that Harold of Portsmouth, and Robert Russell and Gervase Springet of Southampton, had sold to William Merlon and Robin Gaillard, at Bordeaux, the ship called the "Gaillard," which the King had caused to be arrest- on account of Helen of Dublin's claim thereto; and the ship was ordered to be delivered up to the said Merlon and Gaillard.[b]

When the King ordered twenty ships to be selected for the conveyance of himself and his suite to Poitou in 1242, he also directed them to have the necessary provisions, as bacon and other salted meat, fowls, eggs, flour, and salt, and other necessaries, which were to be obtained from the custodes of the bishoprick of Winchester, who were to forward a thousand quarters of wheat, the same quantity of barley, and a thousand pigs for the purpose, besides the corn and wine from other sources.[c]

The mandate to the sheriffs of London, in July 1237, to release a ship belonging to Damme, and her crew, which had been arrested, because a man in going from the ship had fallen into the Thames and was drowned,[d] may have arisen from a suspicion that his death was not accidental, or more probably to se-

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 86.
[b] Ibid. p. 114.
[c] Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. p. 1. m. 7.
[d] Ibid. 21 Henry III. m. 21.

cure the deodand; but it shows the practice of seizing ships on such occasions.

Deserters were imprisoned. In September 1242 twenty men, who had received the King's wages at Portsmouth for forty days, and who, when they should have embarked, ran away, were ordered to be arrested.[a] The people of Oleron, like those of the Cinque Ports, were bound to find vessels for the King's service. In June 1242 the mayor was ordered to build the barges which that island owed to the King by tenure;[b] and he was to take timber for the purpose from the wood in which it had usually been cut.

Some interesting facts have been discovered respecting taxes and duties levied upon ships. Though the cargoes of vessels were liable to the "fifteenth,"[c] the ropes and nets of ships and boats were specially exempted.[d] A duty of two shillings was imposed, in June 1244, upon every ship carrying eighty or more tuns of wine, that entered the port of Winchelsea for one year, to build a quay there.[e] A kind of lighthouse seems to have existed at Winchelsea, Yarmouth, and at other places, from an early period. On the 30th of January 1261 the King issued a precept, commanding that every ship laden with merchandize going to that port for the two following years should pay twopence, for the maintenance of the light there, for the safety of sailors entering by night, unless it were shewn that the barons had been accustomed to maintain that light at their own cost.[f] In an ordi-

[a] Rot. Claus. 26 Henry III. m. 4.

[b] "Bargias nostras quæ nobis de feodo debentur in insula de Oleron." —Rot. Claus. in Vascon. 26 Hen. III. m. 4.

[c] Vide p. 173, *ante*.

[d] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 27.

[e] Rot. Patent. 28 and 29 Hen. III.

[f] Rot. Patent, 45 Hen. III.

nance made a few years later, for settling disputes between the Cinque Ports and the inhabitants of Norfolk, arising out of the herring fishery, it was declared that the bailiffs of the barons of the Ports should receive the twopence of the masters of ships, usually called "fire pence," for sustaining the fires at the accustomed places, for the safety of vessels arriving by night, so long as they maintained the fires; but, if they failed to do so, the Provost of Yarmouth might receive the pence and maintain the fires.[a]

That it was the usage for the commander of a fleet to carry the banner of his country at the mast-head of his ship,[b] and that at night a light was shewn from his vessel,[c] to indicate its position, is apparent from several statements, and from the illuminations of many early manuscripts, and seals. In accordance with this fact is an order issued to the sheriffs of London, in June 1253, when the King was going to Gascony, to cause a great and well-made lanthorn, which could be suspended from the King's ship, to be sent to Portsmouth without delay.[d]

Though many circumstances tend to show that from a very early period, private individuals had fitted out vessels of war at their own expense, the first evidence of the fact in the public records are two licences which were granted by Henry the Third in February 1243, during the war with France. These documents are so remarkable, that a literal translation of one of them will be given; the other license, to Geoffrey Pyper, master of the ship called "Le Heyte," being in the same words:—

[a] Jeakes' Charters of the Cinque Ports, folio, 1728, p. 14.
[b] Vide pp. 61, 178, *ante*.
[c] Vide p. 62, 115, *ante*.
[d] Rot. Liberate, 37 Hen. III. m. 2.

"Relative to annoying the King's enemies.—The King to all &c. greeting. Know ye that we have granted and given licence to Adam Robernolt and William le Sauvage, and their companions whom they take with them, to annoy our enemies by sea or by land wheresoever they are able, so that they share with us the half of all their gain; and therefore we command you neither to do, nor suffer to be done, any let, damage, or injury to them or their barge, or other ship or galley which they may have; and they are to render to the King, in his wardrobe, the half of their gains."[a]

Privateers, the disgrace of civilized States,[b] are thus shewn to have existed in the thirteenth century, being licensed by the Crown, as during the late war, to capture the ships and property of the enemy; but they were formerly obliged to yield one-half of their booty to the King. These vessels were evidently part of those sea rovers or adventurers generally designated by the term "pirate;" and though that word had not, as Selden has observed,[c] then the meaning which it now bears; yet, as it certainly indicated a particular class of nautical persons, as well in other countries as in England, it is desirable to ascertain, as far as is now possible, what was meant by the expression.

The "pirates" mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle were usually hordes of Northmen, who lived chiefly on the sea, and supported themselves by plundering

[a] Rot. Patent. 27 Hen. III. m. 16.

[b] Lord Nelson thus speaks of privateers in two of his letters in 1804, "The conduct of all privateers is, as far as I have seen, so near piracy, that I only wonder any civilized Nation can allow them:" and he calls them "a horde of sanctioned robbers." Dispatches, vi. pp. 79. 145.

[c] Vide p. 35, *ante*.

the vessels and coasts of any country which had not the power of resisting them. But the "pirates" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were common to all the maritime nations of Europe, and appear to have consisted of bodies of skilful seamen, whose ships committed hostile aggressions, as well against their own countrymen and allies as against the enemies of their sovereign, whenever an opportunity of obtaining booty presented itself. That they were not always, as has been supposed, outlaws, is nearly certain, for the King often availed himself of their services, though his efforts to control or punish their outrages were sometimes vain. The obscurity which rests on this subject cannot be entirely removed, but some light will be thrown upon it by bringing together the passages in which pirates have been mentioned.

The ships with which William Rufus repelled his brother the Duke of Normandy's efforts to obtain the crown are expressly called "pirates."[a] In the reign of King John, six galleys were sent in search of "pirates,"[b] possibly vessels manned with English outlaws, who were harassing the coast. When that monarch is said to have taken refuge in the Isle of Wight, he was by some supposed to have been a fisherman or a merchant, and by others an adventurer or "pirate."[c] A remarkable use of the word occurs in the speech attributed to the garrison of Dover, when Hubert de Burgh invited them to follow him on board the vessels with which he attacked Eustace the Monk, in 1217;—"We are not," said they, "sea-soldiers, nor

[a] Vide p. 98, *ante*. [b] Ibid. p. 165. [c] Vide p. 171, *ante*.

pirates, nor fishermen."[a] A distinction was clearly drawn between "sailors" and "pirates," in describing the persons by whom the French coast was protected in 1242;[b] and the lawless habits and ferocity of the latter are shewn by Matthew Paris when speaking of the misconduct of the people of the Cinque Ports, as, he says, they "slew and plundered like pirates, sparing neither friends nor neighbours, kith nor kin."[c] The number of these pirates must have been very great, for in 1243, when the barons of the Cinque Ports represented the impossibility of keeping the sea, they said that all the Navy of England could not resist the piratical ships of their adversaries; and that the pirates who guarded the high seas would not even allow pilgrims to return home.[d] These notices leave little doubt, that, besides the ships of war and merchant vessels of England and France, there was, for two or three centuries after the Conquest, a formidable naval force, which was independent of both Governments, and which, when not hired as auxiliaries by one of the belligerent powers in time of war, acted as their own interests dictated. Acknowledging no authority but the chief whom they elected, and restrained by no national or moral law, they inspired terror wherever they came, and obtained the general name of "pirates." But while these hordes of daring robbers are justly execrated for their deeds of cruelty and violence, it should not be forgotten that their skill, hardihood, and adventurous spirit have descended to the British seamen of modern times; and much of the heroism and contempt of

[a] Vide p. 177, *ante*.
[b] Ibid. p. 199.
[c] Ibid. p. 200.
[d] Ibid. p. 204.

danger, for which our Navy has been so long distinguished, may have been derived from the piratical and buccaneering proceedings of former ages.

Very accurate deductions respecting the size, rig, and appearance of vessels in the reign of Henry the Third, cannot be drawn from the notices of ships in English records; and it is doubtful if they differed materially from those of the preceding century. The largest ship of this country did not, it is presumed, much exceed eighty tons. Twenty was about the number of horses which they could carry,[a] and a thousand seams of wheat was apparently their heaviest cargo.[b] Of the galleys an idea may be formed from the size of their sails, only two hundred yards of canvass being required for the sail of the King's galley.[c]

In many early drawings of ships, the sails of the vessels of eminent persons were ornamented with their arms, an instance of which occurs in the annexed engraving, from an illuminated copy of Matthew Paris's "Historia Major,"[d] representing the passage of Henry the Third to Brittany, in April 1230.[e]

[a] Vide p. 196, *ante*.

[b] In 1242, a vessel was ordered to be provided to carry 1000 seams of wheat; but, if one vessel were not sufficient, two were to be procured.—Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III.

[c] Vide p. 212.

[d] Royal MSS. 14 C. VII. f. 211, in the British Museum.

[e] Vide p. 192, *ante*.

A complete idea of the construction and size of fifteen ships, which were furnished the King of France in 1268 by the Republic of Venice, is afforded by the contract[a] entered into on the occasion; and that document will be best understood by placing the particulars in a tabular form,[b] instead of merely translating the agreement itself.

One of these ships was called the "Saint Mary," another the "Roccafortis" or "Rochefort," and a third the "Saint Nicolas." The "Saint Mary" and the "Rochefort" were to be one hundred and eight feet in length over all, having seventy feet of keel, and about thirty-eight of beam. Their bows and sterns were alike, and contained several cabins; the two principal, one of which was at each end of the vessel, were called "the Paradise." Besides the orlop, they had a second deck, six feet and a half high; above which were the corridor and the pavisade, the former being five, and the latter only three feet and a half high; but it is very difficult to understand of what use, except to hold stores or provisions, such low compartments could have been. A short fighting-deck, called the bellatorium, or fore and stern castle, surmounted the extremities of the ship. The crew of each vessel consisted of one hundred and ten mariners; and the ships were estimated at 1400 marks, or 933*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each. The "Saint Nicolas" was only one hundred feet long over all, having seventy-five feet keel and twenty-five beam: she cost 1000 marks, or 733*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and had only eighty

[a] This convention has been often printed, but the abstract in the text is taken from the copy in the "Archéologie Navale," II. 355.

[b] See the note in the next page.

six men. The twelve other ships were much smaller, cost only 700 marks, or 466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and carried fifty men; but they were all built on the same plan.

These facts show that some ships of the thirteenth century were much larger than they appear to have been from any other description, or from any drawing or seal of the period yet discovered; and it is greatly to be regretted that nothing occurs in the contract respecting the size or number of their masts, yards, sails, rigging, stores, or armament. It is certain, however, that the largest vessels had two masts and two square-sails, probably like those represented in some drawings made about half a century later, which show that they had a fore and mainmast but no bowsprit, and that the

b

Ships.	Longa.	In Columba.	In largore Prore et Puppis.	Ampla in Fundo.	Alta in prima Cooperta.	Ampla in Ore.	Alta in Secunda Cooperta.	Alta in Corridoriis.
	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.
Sancta Maria .	108	70	38	9½	11½	38½	6½	5½
Roccafortis .	110	70	40	9½	11½	41	6½	5½
Sanctus Nicolaus	100	75*	25	9	11	27	6½	5½
Twelve Ships .	86	58	18	8	9½	21½	5½	3¾
	Length.	Keel.	Width of Prow and Poop.		Height of Orlop Deck.		Height of second Deck.	Height of Corridors.

* *Sic*; but probably an error for 65.

foremast raked considerably over the bows. Though the ships built for the King of France in 1268 were intended to have crews of from fifty to one hundred and ten men, those of English vessels rarely exceeded half that number; and thirty seems to have been the usual average. Besides the captain or commander, ships had, as has been already observed, from one to six "masters," which was then the only designation of naval officers of inferior rank; but other titles for them soon afterwards occur.

Before stating the alteration which was made in the law of wreck by King Henry the Third, but which has been erroneously attributed to Henry the Second,[a] two proceedings connected with the subject will be noticed. On the 9th of January 1225, the Sheriff of

[a] Vide p. 72, *ante*.

A Corridoriis in superius.	Alta in Capitibus Columbæ.	Paradisus.	Bannum.	Superbann. Coopertum.	Pontes.	Super Pontem.	Bellatorium de retro Puppini	Value.	Mariners.
Feet.	Feet.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Marks.	No.
3½	39½	two	one	one	two	one	one, of 4 or 5 feet.	1,400	110
3½	39½	two	one	one	two	one	one, of 4 or 5 feet.	1,400	110
3½		one	two; one above the other.		two	one		1,100	86
3½	29	one	one	one open, and one corridor, and one covered bridge, and another bridge from the mainmast to the prow				700	50
Height of upper Corridor	Extreme Depth.	Paradise, or Chief Cabins.	In the Stern. Stern	Cabin.	In the Fore-castle. Bridges	Top-bridges.	Bellatorium, or Stern-castle.		

Cornwall was informed, that the King having heard that some masts had been lately washed ashore in that county, from a wreck which belonged to the Crown, he was commanded to proceed to the spot, accompanied by John de Baiocis or his bailiff, and inquire whence the masts came; and if any one of them had been sold, he was to arrest both the buyer and the seller, and to send the remainder of the masts to Portsmouth.[a]

In 1227, a ship, laden with goods belonging to some merchants of Toulouse, was wrecked in the port of Shoreham; and her cargo having been plundered, the Sheriff of Sussex was ordered to proceed himself to that place, taking with him good and lawful men, or in other words, to impanel a jury, and inquire who were present at the robbery, who carried away the cargo and stores of the ship, and whither they went; and he was to arrest all who were found guilty of the robbery.[b]

By a charter dated at Merewell, on the 26th of May 1236, which recited, that, for the welfare of his own soul, and the souls of his ancestors and his heirs, and for the abolition of unjust customs, the King granted, that, if any ship were in danger in his dominions, whether on the coast of England, Poitou, Isle of Oleron, or Gascony, and any man escaped from it and reached the land alive, all the goods and chattels in such ship should continue the property of the original owners, instead of losing them in the name of wreck. And if from a ship so endangered no man escaped alive, but any other beast[c] chanced to escape

[a] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 12.
[b] Rot. Claus. vol. II. p. 192[b].
[c] "Nullo homine vivo evadente contingat quamque bestiam aliam vivam evadere."

alive, or be found alive on board, then the goods and chattels in such ship should be delivered by the King's bailiff to four men, in whose custody they should remain for three months, during which time if the owners proved their right, they should be restored to them; but if no one claimed the goods within that term, they were to be forfeited as wreck. If, however, neither a man nor other beast[a] escaped from the ship, the cargo was then to be considered as wreck, and to become the property of the King, or of the lord having the right of wreck.[b] So much importance was attached to the security of the cargoes of shipwrecked vessels, that the treaty between King Henry the Third and Magnus King of Norway, in 1269, contained a clause providing that merchants might trade freely in their respective dominions; and that, in case of shipwreck in either country, the goods on board should be protected by the authorities, who were to afford all the assistance in their power to the crews; and persons plundering were to be severely punished.[c]

No event in Naval History was so important as the discovery of the directive power of the magnet. Though known in China, India, and Arabia at a very early period, it does not appear to have been applied to navigation in Europe until the thirteenth century.[d] Little was, however, known of the manner in which the magnet was then used for nautical purposes; and, though the annals of science were silent respecting one of the most brilliant of her discoveries, the rude

[a] "Nullus homo vivus evaserit, nec alia bestia."
[b] Fœdera, I. 227. [c] Ibid. I. 480.
[d] The facts on the subject are very satisfactorily compressed in the article "Compass (the Mariner's)" in the "Penny Cyclopædia."

lays of contemporary poets contained statements of the highest interest.

Two French writers of the early part of the thirteenth century speak of the use of the magnet at sea in a manner that leaves no doubt of its being then generally known:—

" De nostre pere l'Apostoile,[a]
Volsisse qu'il semblast l'estoile,
Qui ne se muet. Molt bien la voient
Li marinier qui s'i avoient:
Par cele estoile vont et viennent,
Et lor sen, et lor voie tiennent.
Il l'apelent la tresmontaigne.
Icele estaiche est molt certaine;
Toutes les autres se remuevent,
Et exchangent lor lieus et tornent;
Mès cele estoile ne se muet.
Un art font qui mentir ne puet
Par la vertu de la maniete:
Une pierre laide et brunete,
Où li fers volentiers se joint,
Ont; si esgardent le droit point,
Puis c'une aguile i ont touchié,
Et en un festu l'ont couchié,
En l'eve le metent sanz plus,
Et li festuz la tient desus;
Puis se torne la pointe toute
Contre l'estoile si sanz doute,
Que jà nul hom n'en doutera,
Ne jà por rien ne fausera.
Quant la mers est obscure et brune,
C'on ne voit estoile ne lune,
Dont font à l'aguille alumer,
Puis n'ont il garde d'esgarer:...
Contre l'estoile va la pointe,
Por ce sont li marinier comte
De la droite voie tenir.
C'est une ars qui ne puet faillir."

" For our father the Pope,
I would he were like the star,
Which moves not. Very well see it
The sailors who are on the watch:
By this star they go and come,
And hold their course and their way.
They call it the polar star.
It is fixed very unchangeable;
All the others move,
And alter their places and turn;
But this star moves not.
They make a contrivance which cannot lie
By the virtue of the magnet;
An ugly and brownish stone,
To which iron spontaneously joins itself,
They have; and they observe the right point,
After they have caused a needle to touch it,
And placed it in a rush,
They put it in the water without anything more,
And the rush keeps it on the surface;
Then it turns its point direct
Towards the star with such certainty,
That no man will ever have any doubt of it,
Nor will it ever for anything go false:
When the sea is dark and hazy,
That they can neither see star nor moon,
Therefore they place a light by the needle,
And then they have no fear of going wrong:
Towards the star goes the point,
Whereby the mariners have the skill
To keep the right way.
It is an art which cannot fail."

[a] La Bible Guiot de Provins, 1620. These verses, which have been often printed, occur with some variations, and accompanied by a learned commentary, in M. Jal's "Archéologie Navale," i. 204. The author is, however, indebted for the copy in the text to Thomas Wright, Esq., who was also good enough to furnish the accurate translations.

In a fragment of a song of the thirteenth century the magnet is again noticed:[a]—

" La tresmontaine est de tel guise,
Qu'ele est el firmament asise,
Où ele luist et reflambie.
Li marinier qui vont en Frise,
En Gresse, en Acre, ou en Venisse,
Sevent par li toute la voie:
Pour nul riens ne se desvoie,
Tout jours se tient en une moie,
Tant est de li grans li servisse.
Se la mers est enflée ou koie,
Jà ne sera c'on ne le voie
Ne pour galerne ne pour bise.

Pour bise ne pour autre afaire
Ne laist son dout servise à faire
La tresmontaine clere et pure;
Les maroniers par son eschaire
Jete souvent hors de contraire
Et de chemin les assure;
Et quant la nuis est trop oscure
S'est ele encor de tel nature
C'à l'aimant fait le fer traire,
Si que par forche et par droiture,
Et par ruille qui tout jours dure,
Sevent li liu de son repaire.

Son repaire sevent à route,
Quant li tans n'a de clarté goute,
Tout chil qui fonte cete maistrise,
Qui une aguille de fer boute
Si qu'ele port presque toute
En j-poi de liège et l'atise
A la pierre d'aimant bise.
S'en j-vaissel plain d'eaue est mise,
Si que nus hors ne la deboute,
Si tout com l'eau s'aserise
Car dons quel part la pointe vise,
La tresmontaigne est là sans doute."

" The polar star is of such nature,
That it is seated in the firmament,
Where it glitters and shines.
The sailors who go into Friesland,
To Greece, to Acre, or to Venice,
Know by it all their way:
For nothing at all do they go wrong,
It always keeps itself in one place,
So great is the service of it.
If the sea is swoln or tranquil,
One will never lose sight of it
Neither for a south-western nor for a north wind.

For a north wind nor for anything else
Does (without doubt) cease doing service
The polar star clear and pure;
The sailors by its light
It throws often out of mishap
And assures them of their road;
And when the night is too dark
Still is it of such a nature
That it makes iron draw to the loadstone,
So that by force and by reason,
And by a rule which lasts ever,
They know the place where it is.

They know its position on the way,[b]
When it is perfectly dark,
All those who practise this art,
Who push a needle of iron
Till it almost disappears
In a bit of cork, and touch it
To the brown loadstone.
Then it is placed in a vessel full of water,
So that no one push it out,
As soon as the water settles, (?)
To whatever place the point aims,
The polar star is there without doubt."

[a] Printed in the preface to M. Michel's "Lais Inedits," and in the "Archéologie Navale," i. 208.

[b] Mr. Wright says that the last few lines are rather confused, and that he is not sure but that the eighth line means that the needle was to be driven almost up to its head in the cork, so that little of it projected beyond it.

These remarkable verses show that the Polar Star was the seaman's usual guide, and that, when it ceased to be visible, a kind of compass was made by charging a needle with loadstone, and fixing it in a rush or to a cork, which was placed in water, and the north point thereby ascertained. This simple contrivance could only have been used when the sea was perfectly smooth. It is also deserving of attention that the use of the magnet for navigation is not then spoken of as a new invention, nor as anything more extraordinary than the Polar Star itself, whence it may be inferred that it had been for some time adopted by mariners.

The persons most distinguished in the Naval conflicts of the reigns of King John and Henry the Third, were William Longespee Earl of Salisbury, Hubert de Burgh Earl of Kent, Sir Philip d'Albini, and the celebrated Eustace the Monk.

WILLIAM LONGESPEE was a natural son of King Henry the Second, by the fair Rosamond Clifford, and obtained his surname from the extraordinary length of his sword. Having married Ela, daughter and heiress of William d'Evreux, Earl of Salisbury, he acquired that dignity, and became one of the most eminent soldiers of his age. His first exploit was in command of the English fleet at Damme, in 1213;[a] and he was afterwards employed on every occasion of importance. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Bovines, and some interesting letters from the King about his release are preserved.[b] In his brother King John's quarrels with the barons, Salisbury at first supported him, but afterwards joined his enemies. On the ac-

[a] Vide p. 167 *ante*.

[b] Hardy's Preface to the Patent Rolls.

cession of Henry the Third, he however abandoned the French party, and did homage to the young monarch. In 1224, the army which was sent into Poitou was intrusted to his charge;[a] and being in danger of shipwreck on his return, his vessel was visited by one of those apparitions which are so frequently visible to ignorance and superstition.[b] After a long and perilous voyage, the Earl landed in Cornwall, and it being supposed that he had perished, Hubert de Burgh solicited the King to bestow his widow upon one of his kinsmen; but the Countess indignantly refused to listen to the proposition, and when the Earl heard of the proceeding, he threatened, that, if the King did not do him justice against De Burgh, he would revenge himself. The affair was however settled by De Burgh's admitting his fault, and making him rich presents. Being thus reconciled, De Burgh invited Salisbury to his table; and being taken seriously ill, his host was suspected of having poisoned him. Finding himself in mortal sickness, he was visited by the Bishop of the diocese; and when the prelate entered his chamber, the dying Earl leapt out of bed with a rope round his neck, fell prostrate on the ground, crying out that he was a traitor to Almighty God, and would not move until he had received the sacrament. Salisbury, after lingering a few days, died on the 7th of March 1226; and his funeral was the scene of another miracle, for notwithstanding heavy rain and blustering wind, the tapers borne on the occasion were not extinguished, "by which it plainly appeared, that, having been so sincere a penitent for his sins, he belonged to the

[a] Vide p. 185, *ante*.

[b] Vide p. 190, *ante*.

sons of light."[a] The Earl left several children, and though William de Longespee, his eldest son, was so distinguished a soldier that his deeds in the Holy Land were made the subject of a curious contemporary poem,[b] yet his claim to his father's Earldom was unsuccessful.

No name is more conspicuous in the annals of the time than that of HUBERT DE BURGH. He was a brother's son of William Fitz-Adeline, steward of King Henry the Second; and, after filling various offices under King Richard the First and John, was by the latter monarch appointed Seneschal of Poitou, and in June 1215 was made Justiciary of England, which important office he held for seventeen years. When Prince Louis, at the head of the rebellious barons, besieged Dover Castle, De Burgh, then its constable, defended it against a large army. In 1217 he displayed his loyalty and valour by taking the command of the ships at Dover, and defeating the French fleet under Eustace the Monk, whereby he obtained a distinguished place in Naval History. He married in 1221 his fourth wife, Margaret, sister of the King of Scotland, and was created Earl of Kent on the 11th of February 1227. In 1229 he incurred the King's displeasure because there was not enough shipping to carry the troops to Britanny;[c] but, though Henry became reconciled to him, he soon after lost the King's favour, and a total reverse of fortune attended him. He was removed from his offices, and accused of various offences. The principal crimes with which he was charged were, that he had dis-

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 175, from Matthew Paris.

[b] Printed in the "Excerpta Historica."

[c] Vide p. 192, *ante*.

suaded the King from undertaking an expedition for the recovery of Normandy, whereby much treasure was lost; that he had seduced and had many children by Margaret of Scotland before their marriage; that he had stolen a precious stone out of the royal treasury, endowed with the virtue of rendering him who carried it victorious in battle, which he had treacherously sent to Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, the King's enemy; and that he had caused the Prince to hang William de Braose as a thief. Upon these accusations he was arrested and thrown into prison.[a] It was also said that he had poisoned the Earls of Salisbury[b] and Pembroke; that he had destroyed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Baron de Breant; and that he had obtained the King's favour through sorcery and enchantment. Even his great naval exploit furnished matter of reproach, for it was alleged that he had taken some prisoners from the sailors, and converted them to his own benefit, meaning that he had appropriated their ransoms to himself. Thus persecuted, the Earl took refuge from the storm in a priory, whence the King authorized the Londoners, whose hatred he had incurred for having hung an eminent citizen of the name of Constantine, to drag him by force. The representations of the Earl of Chester, however, induced Henry to respect the laws of sanctuary, and, through the intercession of the Archbishop of Dublin, De Burgh was allowed time to answer the charges. Supposing himself safe under the King's letters-patent, he joined his wife at St. Edmondsbury; but he was there arrested, by the King's special order, by Sir Godfrey de Crawcombe, who found him in a chapel

[a] Matt. Paris, 259. [b] Vide p. 253, *ante*.

where he had sought protection, holding the cross in one hand and the host in the other. Refusing to accompany Crawcombe to London, the sacred emblems were snatched from his hands; he was then tied with cords, and a smith was summoned to make fetters for his legs. Here an incident occurred as unforeseen as it was honourable, and marked by genuine English feeling. The smith having arrived, he asked for whose legs the fetters were intended, and being told for Hubert de Burgh, a convicted person, and a fugitive, the mechanic, well aware of the peril which he incurred by refusing, sighed deeply, but nobly replied, "Do what you please with me. God have mercy on my soul, for the Lord liveth! Before I will put iron fetters on him, I will suffer any kind of death. Is not this that most faithful and magnanimous Hubert who so often saved England from the devastation of aliens, and restored England to England? who hath served his lord King John so faithfully and constantly in Gascony, in Normandy, and elsewhere, that he was sometimes obliged to eat horses, so that our enemies praised his wonderful constancy? who for a long time kept Dover, the key of England, for us against the King of France and all his vast power? who, by subduing our enemies at sea, caused our safety? What shall I say of his great deeds at Lincoln and Bedford? God be judge betwixt him and you for thus unjustly and inhumanly dealing with him, giving him evil for good, indeed the worst for the best!"

The smith's remonstrance, as might be supposed, availed nothing. The Earl was placed on a horse with his legs tied beneath its belly, and was thus ignominiously brought to the Tower. So much impor-

tance was attached to his imprisonment by the King, that he is stated to have sat up late to hear of it, and then to have gone merrily to bed. This proceeding roused the Bishop of London; and the threat of excommunicating all concerned caused Henry to send De Burgh back to the chapel; but he ordered the Sheriff of Essex, upon pain of death, to go in person and so surround the place that he could neither escape nor receive any food.

The Archbishop of Dublin again interposed with the King; and the Earl being given his choice to abjure the realm for ever, to submit to perpetual imprisonment, or openly to confess himself a traitor, he consented to leave the Kingdom for a time, but not for ever. When afterwards urged to put De Burgh to death, because, by giving up some jewels and money which he was accused of having taken out of the treasury, he seemed to admit that he had stolen them, a recollection of the eminent services which De Burgh had rendered to his uncle King Richard and to his brother King John, made Henry not only refuse to allow him to be executed, but he was allowed to retain part of his lands for his support.

After his removal from the Tower of London to a dungeon in the castle of Devizes, he obtained a full pardon in 1234, but was not released from imprisonment. One of his keepers, compassionating his condition, and perhaps, like the honest smith, influenced by the services he had rendered to his country, assisted him in escaping to a neighbouring church, whence he was violently brought back to his dungeon. Again did ecclesiastical authority interpose in

[a] Matt. Paris, 260.

his behalf; but, when Robert Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, demanded that he should be replaced in the church, his guards simply answered, that "they would rather he should be hanged than themselves." Too much of the space that can be afforded to sketches of the lives of those who have distinguished themselves in Naval history has been appropriated to De Burgh, to allow of more details being given of his subsequent career. A reconciliation took place between him and the King, and with the most powerful of his other enemies, but only to be followed by new quarrels and additional accusations; and after a life so full of vicissitudes as to be almost romantic, De Burgh died at Bansted, in Surrey, on the 12th of May 1243. Though he left two sons, neither of them nor any of his posterity ever bore the title of Earl of Kent.

SIR PHILIP D'ALBINI, who was more frequently employed at sea than any other man of his rank, was, it is supposed, a near relation of the house of Albini, Lords of Belvoir Castle, and he was himself a baron. In 1213 he was appointed Governor of Jersey; and, though he joined the confederacy against King John which obtained Magna Charta, he adhered to his sovereign in his subsequent quarrels. On the accession of Henry the Third, D'Albini resisted the confederates of Prince Louis of France, and commanded a large force at the battle of Lincoln, about which time he was appointed one of the council of the Earl Marshal, the guardian of the realm. As has been before stated, Sir Philip d'Albini so greatly distinguished himself in the sea-fight off Dover in 1217, that the success of the combat may be mainly attributed to his valour.

He continued to be actively employed for many years, and his name has been several times mentioned in connexion with nautical affairs, arising principally from his being governor of some, if not of all, the Channel Islands. To his merits as a soldier he seems to have united the rarer qualifications of a scholar, and was apparently at one time the young King's tutor, as Matthew Paris calls him "Regis Anglorum magister et eruditor fidelissimus."

D'Albini made a second pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1236, and died there in the following year; leaving his nephew of the same name his heir, who was succeeded by his brother Elias Daubeney, a baron in the time of Edward the First, and ancestor of the Lords Daubeney and Earl of Bridgewater in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth.[a]

In the Romance bearing his name it is said that EUSTACE LE MOIGNE was born at Cors in Boulonnois,[b] and that he was made a monk at Samer; but Matthew Paris[c] states that he was a Fleming, and that, on becoming entitled to property by the death of his brother or brothers without children, he abandoned the cloister, and adopted a profession[d] for which his courage and talents eminently qualified him.

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 115, 116, on the authority of Matthew Paris.

[b] Wistaces, dont parler m'oes,
A Cors en Boulenois fu nes—
Bauduins Buskes ot a non
Ses pere pour voir le savon
Si estoit pers de Boulenois ;
Molt savoit de plais et de loys
Occis fu les Basinguehans.
* * * * *
Wistasces devenus est moignes
A Saint-Saumer devers Bouloignes.

Hemingford calls him "quidam tyrannus ex Hispania cognomine Monachus," probably from the belief that he had studied magic at Toledo.

[c] Var. Lect.

[d] Ibid. M. Michell, who has illustrated his edition of the Romance by nearly all the statements referred to, says, in his account of the Monk (p. vii.), that it is not true that Eustace succeeded to property by the death of his brothers, because they are mentioned after his own demise:

Nothing more is known of his family, than the statement in the Romance, that his father was called Baldwin Buske, that he was a peer of Boulonnois, and was slain at Basinghans. The Monk had two if not more brothers, and an uncle, who, like himself, were sea adventurers;[a] and his celebrity is shewn by their being always described by the relationship which they bore to him. It is remarkable that very little notice should have been taken of Eustace by contemporary writers before the battle in which he was made prisoner; and his deeds and the terror which he inspired can only be inferred from the epithets which have been heaped upon his name, and from what occurs respecting him in English records. At one period, and perhaps before he appears as a naval adventurer, though the date is not stated, he was Seneschal of the Cohort of the Count of Bologne.[b]

but, though some of the Monk's brothers certainly survived him, an elder or other brothers may have died before he quitted the cloister. "Erat autem illo [Eustachius] natione Flandrensis [et aliquandiu habitium religionis portavit sed], qui pro hæreditati prosequenda fratribus suis sine liberis præmortuis [fratre suo sine liberis præmortuo] relicto habitu et ordine suo apostataverat; et existens pirata et piratarum magister, multis damnosus fuit et cruentus: [predis indulsit et rapinis] sed tandem, prædo præda factus fructus collegit viarum suarum."—Variantes Lectiones.—The words within brackets are various readings from the Cotton MS., Claudius D. vi, and other MSS.

[a] Vide p. 171, *ante*. These brothers were once in King John's service. In 1209, James, the brother of Eustace the Monk, was paid two marks for going to Flanders as the King's messenger; and soon after, Jake, the Monk's brother, possibly the same person, received twenty shillings as the King's gift.—Rot. Misæ, pp. 119, 123. In the treaty made between Henry the Third and Prince Louis, on the 11th of September 1217, it was stipulated, that, with respect to the Norman isles, Louis should send his commands to the brothers of Eustace the Monk, commanding them to surrender them to Henry.—Fœdera, I. 148. The brother who was captured in Sark, in 1214, seems therefore to have returned to the Islands.

[b] "D'Ardres, Histoire des Comtes de Guines, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de le France, tome XVIII. p. 587." The Romance (v. 370) also mentions the circumstance:—

"Li Moignes s'est del champ partis
Manesiers fu tantost occis.

Eustace is first mentioned in this country in 1205, at which time he was in the service of King John. In that year he seems to have made a capture at sea; for on the 13th of November the bailiffs of Sandwich were directed to deliver to the Archdeacon of Taunton the money which Eustace the Monk and the men of justice had arrested.[a]

In April in the following year he committed an act of piracy by seizing a ship belonging to one of the King's subjects; and, as John was not sure that he would obey his command to restore her, the officers of the sea-ports were ordered to assist the owner in recovering the vessel wherever she might be found.[b] His next offence was against some merchants of Namur and of this Country, for which he appears to have been outlawed; for in May 1206 letters of safe conduct were granted to him for one month, to come to England for the purpose of answering any complaints of injuries which they might make against him.[c] His name next occurs in April 1208, when he was again allowed to come to England for a short time.[d] Eustace seems, however, soon after to have recovered King John's confidence and favour; for early in June 1209 he gave him forty marks;[e] and he had other gifts of money from the King in August.[f] The next payment to him shows that he was then regularly retained by the King, for on the 4th of May 1210 he received at Dover thirty marks as his fee, by

Li Moignes servi puis le Conte,
De trestout li rendoit aconte ;
Senescaus fu de Boulenois,
Pers et baillius, che fu ses drois."

[a] "Denarios quos Eustachius le Moyne et homines justiciæ arestaverunt." Rot. Patent. 7 John, p. 57.

[b] Rot. Claus. p. 62.

[c] Rot. Patent. 8 John, p. 65.

[d] Ibid. p. 81.

[e] Rot. Misæ, 11 John, p. 113.

[f] Ibid. p. 127.

the Earl of Salisbury,[a] which agrees with his having had ten marks advanced to him by the King in October, in "prest" until St. Andrew's Day next following.[b]

On the 4th of May 1212 Eustace le Moine was one of the witnesses to King John's agreement with the Count of Boulogne, that he would not make peace with the King of France or Prince Louis, unless the Count were included:[c] and, as all the other witnesses were individuals of rank or importance, the fact shows that Eustace also was a person of great consideration. Lands had been granted to him in Norfolk, and in October 1212, the Sheriff of that county was directed not to molest him in the enjoyment of his two marks' worth of land, on account of a debt of twenty marks which he owed to the King, he being then in his service.[d]

His descent at Folkstone, in 1214 or 1215, has been already mentioned; and the next notice of him is very remarkable, as it shows that he had delivered his daughter to King John as a hostage for the fulfilment of some engagement into which he had entered. On the 21st of June 1215, a few days after the execution of Magna Charta, when John released many other hostages, he issued orders from Runnymede to the Abbess of Wilton, to deliver to Eustace the Monk his daughter, who was then his hostage.[e]

From motives that cannot now be explained, Eustace abandoned King John in his quarrels with his

[a] Rot. Misæ, p. 165.
[b] Ibid. p. 232.
[c] Fœdera, i. 105.
[d] Rot. Claus. 14 John, p. 126.
[e] "Mandamus vobis quod liberetis Eustachio Monacho filiam et obsidem suam quam habetis in custodia." — Rot. Patent. 17 John, p. 144.

barons, and became thenceforward one of the most zealous and useful adherents of Prince Louis. He collected numerous vessels, with which he harassed the English in the Channel; and, judging from the speech of Philip to the Pope's legate,[a] entirely commanded the Straits of Dover. When Louis accepted the proposition of the barons to come to England, Eustace formed a large fleet, in which the Prince and his followers embarked;[b] and it is said that the French monarch sent military engines to the barons by him.[c] The Monk's uncle and brothers also took up arms against John, but were made prisoners in the Isle of Sark.[d] After the accession of Henry the Third, Eustace commanded the fleet which was coming to the aid of Louis and the confederated barons, when it was defeated by the English ships under Hubert de Burgh. The capture and death of this famous adventurer have been already related.[e]

King Henry the Third, in 1229, issued the following "ordinance touching the service of shipping" to be furnished by the CINQUE PORTS, which was entered in the Custumal of the town of Rye:—

"These are the Ports of the King of England, having liberties which other ports have not, that is to say, as more fully appeareth in the charters thereof made:

"HASTINGS, to which pertaineth as members one town on the sea shore, in Seaford, Pevensea, Bulvarhithe, Hydney, Iham, Beaksborne,[f] Grench, and

[a] Vide p. 174, *ante*.
[b] Vide p. 171, *ante*.
[c] Coggeshall, p. 108.
[d] Vide p. 171, *ante*.
[e] Vide p. 181, *ante*.
[f] In 1202, William de Aldinges, and Avicia his wife, claimed as co-heirs, against William de Becco, certain lands in Livingsbourne (afterwards called Bekesbourne), which were held by sergeantcy, viz. to find half a ship for the King's service; but Bek answered that as he held his lands by sergeantcy they ought

Northye. The services thereof due to our lord the King, twenty-one ships, and in every ship twenty-one men with one boy, which is called a gromet.[a]—WINCHELSEA and RYE as members, that is to say, Winchelsea ten ships, and Rye five ships, with men and boys as above.—ROMNEY, to which pertaineth Promhill, Lyd, Oswardstone, Dengemarsh, and Old Romney, five ships, with men and boys as above.—HITHE, to which pertaineth Westhithe, five ships, with men and boys as above.—DOVER, to which pertaineth Folkstone, Feversham, and Margate, not of soil but of cattle, twenty-one ships, as Hastings, with men and boys as above.—SANDWICH, to which pertaineth Fordwich, Reculver, Sarre, Storrey, and Deale, not of soil but of chattels, five ships, with men and boys as above. Being fifty-seven ships, one thousand one hundred and forty men, and fifty-seven boys, in all one thousand one hundred and ninety-seven persons.

"The service which the barons of the Cinque Ports acknowledge to do to the King at the summons of the service by forty days before the going out, viz. yearly, if it shall happen, for fifteen days at their own cost, so that the first day be reckoned from the day on which they shall hoist up the sails of the ships to sail to the parts to which they ought to go, and further, as long as the King will, to be kept by ordinance of the King. Anno Domini 1229."[b]

not to be divided; and he exhibited a charter from Henry the First, by which was granted to Hugh de Bek "ministerium de esnetka sua de Hastinges." (Abreviatio Placitorum, pp. 34—39.) It appears from other records that the ship was for the King's passage. (Testa de Nevill, pp. 216—219.) Some remarks upon these facts, by Charles T. Beke, Esq., in "The Gentleman's Magazine," vol. VIII., N. S., p. 20, are deserving of the attention of an historian of the Cinque Ports.

[a] "*Grom*, Dutch for a stripling."—Jeake.

[b] Jeake's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 25.

Besides the duty of furnishing ships and mariners, the barons of the Cinque Ports have, for many centuries, performed an honorary service at the coronations of the Kings and Queens of England; the earliest instance of which was the coronation of Eleanor of Provence, consort of Henry the Third, in 1236. On that occasion the barons of the Cinque Ports bore a canopy over the King of purple silk, supported by four silvered staves, and as many small bells silver gilt. "To each staff were four barons, according to the diversity of the ports, lest one port should seem to be preferred to another. They also bore a silk cloth over the Queen when she followed the King, which cloths they claimed as their right, and obtained them in Court, though they were demanded by the marchers of the Marches of Wales, on the pretence that it was the right of the Marches to find and bear those staves; but it was declared frivolous. The barons of the Cinque Ports also asserted their right to sit at the King's table on that day at his right hand, which they did."[a]

[a] Ports' Domesday Book in Jeake's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 27. Further particulars on this subject occur in the Custumals of Winchelsea and Rye. Ibid. pp. 129, 130.

CHAPTER X.

RETURN OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST FROM THE HOLY LAND.—GALLEYS LENT TO THE KING OF CASTILE.—ENGLISH MERCHANT-SHIPS ATTACKED BY PIRATES OF ZEALAND. — EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE WELCH. — QUARREL BETWEEN NORMAN AND ENGLISH SAILORS.—REMARKABLE SEA-FIGHTS.—DISPOSITION OF THE ENGLISH NAVY.—EXPEDITION INTO GASCONY.—TREASON OF SIR THOMAS TURBERVILLE.—FRENCH LAND AT HYTHE.—DOVER ATTACKED AND BURNT BY THE FRENCH.—LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISALS.—TREATY WITH FLANDERS RESPECTING SHIPPING, AND AGAINST FRANCE.—THE KING GOES IN PERSON TO FLANDERS. — SANGUINARY AFFRAY BETWEEN THE SAILORS OF THE CINQUE PORTS AND THOSE OF YARMOUTH. — TRUCE WITH FRANCE.—EXPEDITIONS TO SCOTLAND.—DEATH OF EDWARD THE FIRST.

A. D. 1272. EARLY in August 1272, Prince Edward quitted the Holy Land on his return to England. After a passage of seven weeks, he landed at Trepani, in Sicily, whence he proceeded to Rome, Chalons, and Paris, in which city intelligence reached him of his accession to the throne.[a]

Though the reign of King Edward the First was not remarkable for maritime events, there were, nevertheless, some interesting occurrences connected with
A. D. 1273. the Navy. On the 4th of July 1273, the keeper of the Cinque Ports was directed to provide ships and gallies for the King's passage; and privately to warn his best and most faithful friends there, to meet him on his arrival, cautiously and without tumult.[b] Edward did not, however, arrive in England until the
A. D. 1274. 2nd of August 1274, on which day he landed at Dover.[c]

[a] Hemingford, sub anno. [b] Fœdera, i. 504. [c] Ibid. p. 514.

Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon, having undertaken an expedition against the Saracens, he sent to request the assistance of his brother-in-law, the King of England; and on the 4th of May 1275, Edward wrote to him, stating that he had not decided whether he should go to the Holy Land, but that, if any of his subjects would assist Alphonso, it would be very satisfactory to him; and he signified his pleasure that the King of Castile should have the aid "of the ships of our people, and of our sea of Bayonne."[a] Edward accordingly ordered the authorities of Bayonne to build and fit out twelve ships and twenty-four gallies for that purpose; and the correspondence on the subject affords the most valuable information on the equipment and expenses of vessels in the thirteenth century, that has yet been discovered.[b] A. D. 1275.

About this time an attack was made by a small piratical fleet belonging to Zealand, consisting of fourteen cogs, upon some vessels of the merchants of London, which they had robbed; and on the 23rd of September 1275, the constable of Dover Castle was ordered to investigate the affair, and to consult with the barons of the Cinque Ports thereupon.[c]

It appears that a petty war had long existed between the mariners of Bayonne and those of the Cinque Ports; for in May 1277, two citizens of Bayonne were sent to England on the part of the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of that city, to conclude a truce or peace between them, which the King ratified; and he gave the Bayonnese one hundred pounds to observe the peace.[d] A. D. 1277.

About October 1277, Edward made an expedition

[a] Fœdera, I. 522.
[b] Vide a subsequent page.
[c] Fœdera, I. 529.
[d] Ibid. p. 542.

into Wales; and the services rendered him by the shipping of the Cinque Ports, especially in obtaining
A. D. 1278. possession of the Isle of Anglesey, and cutting off the communication between Snowdon and the sea,[a] were rewarded by a charter of additional privileges.[b] In
A. D. 1279. May 1279, the King went to France, and having confirmed the treaty which had been made between his father and Saint Louis, returned to England on the 19th of June.[c] Another rebellion of the Welsh, in
A. D. 1282. 1282, obliged Edward to raise an army and a fleet; and on the 13th of April, four thousand quarrels were ordered to be delivered to the barons of the Cinque Ports, who were about to proceed to Wales by sea.[d] The expedition terminated in the death of Llewelin, and the extinction of the independency of Wales. No other notice of vessels during these proceedings occurs, than that barges, boats, small ships,[e] and great planks were joined together to form a bridge over the Straits of Menai, for the purpose of attacking the Castle of Snowdon; but, on the 6th of November, the Welsh completely defeated their assailants, who, rushing into the boats in their retreat, sunk them, whereby many eminent knights and esquires and two hundred soldiers were drowned.[f]

A. D. 1286. On the 14th of October 1286, the King sailed from Dover for France,[g] to mediate between the French monarch and the King of Castile; and he did
A. D. 1289. not return to England until the 12th of August 1289, when he landed at Dover.[h]

[a] Hemingford, i. 5; Trivet, 147, 148.
[b] Vide a subsequent page.
[c] Fœdera, i. 568—570, 571—575.
[d] Ibid. p. 604.
[e] "batellæ et naviculæ."
[f] Knyghton, col. 2464.
[g] Fœdera, i. 665.
[h] Ibid. i. 711; Trivet, 265.

The first naval transaction of any moment in this reign arose out of a quarrel between two common sailors, and led to the most important consequences. In 1293, two of the crew of an English ship, in some port of Normandy, landed to get water, and meeting with several Norman sailors, a dispute ensued which produced blows on both sides. One of the Englishmen was slain, and the other fled to his ship followed by twenty of the Normans.[a] The vessel immediately put to sea and was pursued by many of the Norman ships. Shortly afterwards the French squadron fell in with six English ships, which they attacked, and having captured two of them, they hung their crews, together with some dogs, to the yards of the vessels.[b] They then cruised in the Channel for some time, committing such outrages, that they "made no distinction between an Englishman and a dog."[c] It was never in the nature of English sailors to submit to such infamous treatment; and without waiting for the approval or assistance of their Sovereign, they determined to be revenged. A. D. 1293.

The four ships that had escaped were joined by many others from the Cinque Ports,[d] and eagerly sought the enemy; but not finding them at sea, they

[a] Knyghton, col. 2495. But Walsingham (ed. 1574, p. 21), whom Doctor Lingard has followed, says the dispute occurred in Gascony; that it arose from a contest between two sailors as to who should drink first, and that the Frenchman, and not the Englishman, was slain by falling on his own sword.

[b] "Suspendentes homines in navibus ad trabes navium suarum." (Knyghton.) Hemingford, whose narrative agrees almost verbatim with that of Knyghton, adds, "with dogs."

[c] "Nullam facebant differentiam inter canem et Anglicum." Knyghton.

[d] Holinshed says, that Sir Robert Tiptoft, who then commanded the English fleet, collected his ships and sailed for Normandy; but for this, and some other statements of that writer which will be cited, no *contemporary* authority has been found.

A. D. 1293. entered the Seine,[a] where they were discovered at anchor, and instantly attacked. A sanguinary conflict took place, which terminated in the defeat of the French and the loss of six of their ships.[b] Several other partial engagements occurred, attended "by great slaughter on both sides, shipwreck, and rapine—both thirsting for blood;" but no particulars are mentioned of any of these affairs. It was at length determined to try their strength in a pitched battle, on the 14th of April,[c] at a spot mid-channel between England and France, indicated by anchoring a large and empty ship.[d] The English enlisted the Irish and Dutch sailors in their cause, while the Normans had obtained the assistance of the French, Flemish, and Genoese.

On the appointed day the two fleets, well armed, met at the rendezvous. The weather was very tempestuous: hail and snow fell heavily, accompanied by a high wind; and the Chroniclers observe, that the courage of the respective combatants was as unequal as the elements.[e] The English fleet does not appear

[a] Knyghton and Hemingford say, "the port of Swyn."

[b] After this exploit, Tiptoft, according to Holinshed, anchored near the land, expecting the French would come out and give him battle; and while lying there, a fleet of Norman ships from Gascony, laden with wine, passing him, he attacked and captured the greater part of them. But these circumstances have not been found in any *contemporary* writer. Southey, who has adopted all these statements, refers to no other authority for them than Holinshed.

[c] Knyghton; but, according to Trivet, it must have been on the 14th of *May*.

[d] Knyghton's words are remarkable:—"Cùmque talia longo certamine agerentur inter eos, missis internunciis, placuit tandem partibus certo die congredi cum toto cononime, scil. xiiij. die Aprilis, fixo standardo quasi in medio maris inter Angliam et Normanniam; ibi enim cum communi assensu ancoraverunt navem pergrandem et vacuam, in signum congressionis faciendæ." Col. 2495.

[e] "Adveniente demum die, convenerunt ibidem armis bellicis sufficienter instructi; et sicut in eis fuerat disparitas animorum, sic etiam in eodem die contigit inæqualitas maxima elementorum, nivis scilicet et grandinis ventique validissimi; consertumque est grave prælium inter partes, et tandem victoriam dedit nostris ipse Deus Omnipotens, pe-

to have exceeded sixty ships, while their opponents had more than two hundred. After a desperate conflict, "Almighty God," say Knyghton and Hemingford, "was pleased to give the victory to our side:" and they add, with their usual exaggeration, that "many thousands perished by the sword, beside those who went down in their ships, who were almost countless. Our men brought away about two hundred and forty ships laden with spoil." Trivet's account is equally brief, and varies so much from that of the other writers, as to make it difficult to believe that he is speaking of the same transaction. He states that the French fleet, which amounted to two hundred sail and upwards, had gone to Gascony, intending to plunder and destroy all they met with, and being on their return, laden with wine, glorifying themselves as if the liberty of the sea belonged only to them, were seized by sixty English ships and brought to England on the sixth feria before the eve of Pentecost,[a] all their crews having been slain or drowned, except those who had with difficulty saved themselves in skiffs."[b] The only other contemporary account of this remarkable battle is that of Peter of Langtoft:— A. D. 1293.

"The batailed in the se:
Normans and Inglis were slayn grete plente.
The Normans that day les, for their powere was nouht,
The portes had als thei ches schippes inow tham brouht.
To Dover and Germne cam, and unto Wynchilse,
To Romeneye and Schorham, and to Peveneshe,
To Gipwiche and Sandwiche, and to Southamptoun,
Alle the portes were riche, Irays and Bayoun.
The five portes thorgh powere the se had so conquerd,
That Normans alle that yere durst not be sene for ferd."

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rieruntque multa millia gladio, præter submersos cum navibus quasi infinitos, redurgeruntque nostri onnestas cum præda naves circiter ccxl." Knighton, col. 2495.

[a] *I. e.* Friday the 15th of May.

[b] Trivet, 274.

A. D. 1293. Though the French appear to have been the aggressors, and though it is expressly said that Charles of Valois, the King of France's brother, was the cause of that battle, Philip not only demanded redress in strong terms, but made a pretence for entering Gascony, and summoned Edward to appear before the Royal Court of Paris, to answer for his offences against his Sovereign. The Bishop of London was sent to offer compensation to the French for their losses, provided it was also made to the English; but this offer being refused, Edward proposed to refer the question to the Pope; and his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, proceeded to Paris to effect a reconciliation. It was agreed, to save Philip's honour, that he should have possession of Gascony for forty days; but as, at the expiration of that term, he refused to restore it, Edward formally renounced the feudal superiority of the French Crown, and resolved to recover his dominions by force of arms.

A. D. 1294. In the following year effectual measures were taken for maintaining the naval power of England. The King divided his fleet into three large squadrons, and placed the ships of Yarmouth and the adjacent ports, which amounted to fifty-three sail, under the command of Sir John de Botetourt;[a] those at Portsmouth under Sir William de Leybourne; and those of the western ports and Ireland, under a good Knight of that country, called Ormond.[b]

On the 26th of June 1294, the barons of England were ordered to be at Portsmouth by the 1st of September, with horse and arms, to accompany the King

[a] Original Roll in the Tower.

[b] Trivet, 279.

to Gascony; but though Edward was at Portsmouth in July,[a] he did not then leave the kingdom. Directions were at the same time issued for hewing wood in the King's parks and other forests, for the equipment of above two hundred ships to carry horses;[b] and the keepers of all the ports received strict injunctions not to permit any man, ship, boat, or other vessel, or anything whatever, to leave the realm.[c] The custody of the Thames between London and the sea was committed to the King's barges;[d] and the King of Scotland was specially enjoined not to allow any ships or men to leave the country for foreign places.[e] A. D. 1294.

The army, which consisted of five hundred men at arms, and twenty thousand foot-soldiers, and was under the command of Sir John St. John, Sir John of Brittany the King's nephew, and Sir William Latimer, sailed from Portsmouth about the 1st of August; but the ships having been dispersed off the coast of Cornwall by contrary winds, they were obliged to put into Plymouth,[f] and did not quit that port until the early part of October. After a stormy passage, they arrived at Castellion, in Gascony, about the 28th of that month, which place immediately surrendered. The fleet then proceeded to St. Macau, which yielded on the 31st of October, and on the following day they anchored at Bourg. On the 8th the ships returned to Blaye, and thence sailed for Bordeaux, where they remained two days; but failing to reduce it, they proceeded up the Garonne, to Lieux, which instantly received them; and the horses were there landed for

[a] Rot. Vascon. 22 Edward I. m. 9.
[b] Ibid. m. 1.
[c] Ibid. m. 2.
[d] Ibid. m. 13.
[e] Fœdera, I. 801.
[f] "Plumeneye."

A. D. 1294. the first time since they left England, having been seventeen weeks and some days embarked.[a]

The Earls of Lancaster and Lincoln followed the army to Gascony with reinforcements; for which purpose the Cinque Ports were directed, on the 3rd of September, to send their ships to Portsmouth by the 8th of that month, where the King intended to be in person,[b] but they did not sail until the ensuing spring. In October, the goods belonging to French subjects in Ireland, and probably also in England, were ordered to be seized and sold, and the proceeds paid into the Exchequer.[c]

A. D. 1295. About the middle of 1295, the French monarch, at the instigation of Sir Thomas Turberville, an English knight, then his prisoner, made formidable preparations for invading England. The traitor proposed that Philip should fit out a large fleet, and fill the ships with soldiers; that he should in the meantime proceed to England, and inform Edward that he had made his escape; and having obtained from his Sovereign the custody of the sea and of the ports, he promised to join the French, who, on seeing his own banner hoisted above that of the King, were to land there, and he would deliver the place into their hands. Philip agreed to this plot, promised him large rewards, and took two of his sons as hostages. Turberville arrived in England; and though he was kindly received, the King refused to entrust the sea or the ports to him. The King of France having collected above three hundred ships from Marseilles, Genoa, and other places, he sent them to cruise off the English coast, and to wait for the promised signal.[d]

[a] Knyghton, col. 2498.
[b] Fœdera, I. 809; Knyghton, col. 2507.
[c] Fœdera, I. 811.
[d] Knyghton, col. 2503.

After the French ships had waited for some time for Turberville's signal, they sent five of their best galleys to examine the coast, and one of them preceding the others, landed at Hythe. To induce the French to come further inland, the King's forces at that place pretended to retreat. The stratagem completely succeeded; and suddenly turning upon the enemy, who took to flight, the whole of them, to the number of two hundred and forty, were slain. The English then captured and burnt the French galley; and her four consorts rejoined their fleet, which was too large to be attacked by the English ships.[a] A. D. 1295.

Though not aware of Turberville's treachery, the hostile preparations of Philip caused measures to be taken for the safety of the realm. On the 28th and 30th of August, letters were sent to the Bishop of London, and other prelates and priors, desiring them to prepare for the defence of the coast, in case the enemy landed;[b] and on the 28th of September, the sheriffs were informed that as danger was likely to arise from certain foreign ecclesiastics, as well Normans as others, residing in the maritime counties, they were desired to remove them immediately from the sea-side.[c] Two days afterwards a great council was summoned, in consequence of the King of France having, as Edward stated, not only "fraudulently and treacherously deceived him with respect to Gascony by wickedly detaining it from him, but now, not content with that fraud and villany, had, with an immense

[a] Knyghton, col. 2503. This circumstance is differently described by Trivet (1. 284), who says the French galley was driven into Hythe by accident, and that it was seized by Sir John de Columbers, who, after slaying the sailors, endeavoured to carry the vessel off.

[b] Fœdera, 1. 826.

[c] Ibid.

A. D. 1295. fleet and a vast multitude of soldiers, invaded our realm, and proposed utterly to extirpate the English tongue from the earth."[a]

The invasion alluded to took place at Dover. On the 1st of August the French fleet appeared off that port; and, to the surprise of the inhabitants, landed, it is said, about fifteen thousand men, took possession of the town, and burnt great part of it. Though the people fled in all directions uttering loud cries, they afterwards recovered their courage; and being joined by the Knights who had the custody of the sea, attacked the enemy so vigorously, that they put five thousand of them to the sword. Some escaped to their ships, and the remainder took shelter in the corn-fields, where they were afterwards killed. Thirty of the stoutest of the French sailors had, however, taken shelter in the cloisters of the abbey, where they made a desperate defence. During the night, they got into two boats and put to sea; but two large vessels being sent after them in the morning, they were overtaken and sunk. In this affray the inhabitants lost fourteen men, besides Dan Thomas, a monk, who was deemed a saint, and who was slain in his church.

The French ships then returned to their several ports and dispersed.[b] Turberville's treason was discovered by a clerk, who, being employed to write a letter to him, brought it to the King;[c] and the cri-

[a] Fœdera, I. 827.

[b] Knyghton, col. 2503. Peter of Langtoft says that Dover was burnt by the French, who came over with some Cardinals to treat for peace. The monks distinguished themselves in the fight:—

"A monke ther was I wene, he stouh tuenti;
Ther hedes quyte and clene, he laid tham bi and bi."

[c] Peter of Langtoft. Turberville's treason is the subject of a

minal paid the usual penalty of his crime, to the great joy, apparently, of the Chroniclers, who minutely describe his execution. About this time the ships of the Cinque Ports captured fifteen Spanish vessels laden with merchandise, bound for Damme in Flanders, and brought them to Sandwich;[a] and the crews of some vessels belonging to Yarmouth landed at Cherbourg, in Normandy, set fire to the town, robbed an abbey, and carried off an old priest, whom they conveyed to England.[b] A. D. 1295.

A very remarkable circumstance occurred in this year, which is particularly deserving of attention, as it is supposed[c] to be the first instance of the grant, of what are called "Letters of Marque and Reprisals." Bernard D'Ongressill, a merchant of Bayonne, then part of the dominions of the King of England, was the owner of a ship belonging to that place, called the "St. Mary," laden with almonds, raisins, and figs, which vessel, while on her passage from Barbary to England, was driven by stress of weather into Lagos, in Portugal. When at anchor, some armed Portuguese —"sons of perdition"—came from Lisbon, boarded the vessel, robbed D'Ongressill and the crew, and took the ship and cargo to that city. The King of Portugal having received one tenth part of the spoil, the remainder was divided among the robbers. By this proceeding D'Ongressill said he had lost 700*l.*, and he prayed Sir John of Brittany, then lieutenant of Gascony, to grant him letters of marque;

French poem in the Cottonian MS., Caligula, A. xviii., printed in the "Chronicle of London," and since by M. Michell in his illustrations of the Romance of "Eustace the Monk."

[a] Trivet, 284.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, I. 105.

A. D. 1295. literally "licence of marking the men[a] and subjects of the kingdom of Portugal, and especially those of Lisbon, and their goods, by land and sea," until he had obtained compensation. The King's lieutenant accordingly, in June 1295, granted D'Ongressill, his heirs, successors, and descendants, authority for five years "to mark, retain, and appropriate"[b] the people of Portugal, and especially those of Lisbon, and their goods, wheresoever they might be found, until he had obtained satisfaction. This licence was confirmed by the King on the 3rd of October; but with the condition, that it should cease as soon as restitution had been made, and that, if D'Ongressill took more than he had lost, he should answer for the surplus.[c]

The King of France sought assistance in his war with England from Norway. By a convention made between that monarch and Eric, King of Norway, on the 22nd of October, 1295, it was agreed that Eric should assist Philip against the King of England, and all his supporters and confederates, as well the King of Germany as all others, with a subsidy of two hundred galleys, and one hundred great ships well furnished with arms, engines of war, and other stores, for four months in each year during that war. Eric further engaged to find fifty thousand good and select soldiers well armed, of which number there were to be four commanders in each ship and galley.[d] For this subsidy

[a] "Licentia marcandi homines et subditos de regno Portugalliæ," &c.

[b] "Possit marchare, retinere, et sibi appropriare illa."

[c] Fœdera.

[d] "Ac subsidium faciet de ducentis galeis et centum magnis navibus, armis, instrumentis bellicis, et aliis victualibus oportunis et aliis negociis omnibus bene et sufficienter munitis, per quatuor menses annis singulis durante guerra prædicta; cum quinquaginta millibus bellatorum bonorum et electorum et bene munitorum in prædicti Regis Francie adjutorio moraturis, de quibus personis quatuor cuilibet navi et gallæ præsidebunt."

Philip agreed to pay 30,000*l.* sterling, to be ready by A. D. 1295. the 1st May following.[a]

Berwick having been taken by the Scots, the King crossed the Tweed with his army, to recover it, towards the end of March 1296, and ordered his fleet, consisting of thirty-three vessels, to go to the entrance of the harbour. On the 30th of that month he pitched his tents within half a league of the town, and drew out his forces on a plain, with banners displayed. Supposing, from these warlike demonstrations, that the place was to be immediately attacked, the ships proceeded with the flood tide into the port to assist in the assault. The leading vessel, however, took the ground and was instantly surrounded by the Scots; and, though the crew made a gallant defence, the enemy, by applying ladders and fire, succeeded in boarding and capturing her after a loss, on both sides, of twenty-eight men. A second ship also grounded and was burnt; but the crew escaped in their boat. A third ship, in which were people of the Prior of Durham's household, maintained an unequal conflict for nearly eleven hours; but getting, like the others, aground, and taking fire, was also destroyed; but not one of her crew perished, part having made off in her boat, and the rest throwing themselves into the sea, were picked up by the boats of the other ships. The remaining thirty ships retreated in safety, shooting all kinds of missiles at the enemy as they retired. As soon as the King saw the smoke from his burning ships, he directed his trumpets to sound the attack, and the town was carried with frightful slaughter.[b]

[a] Archéologie Navale, II. 296. From the original, in the Royal Records of France.

[b] Hemingford, I. 90. Walsingham (p. 30) states that the English fleet consisted of *twenty*-four ships,

A. D. 1296. In 1296, while Edward was engaged in subduing Scotland, the custody of the maritime counties was committed to various persons, who were to take measures for resisting the invasion of the realm by "aliens."[a] Intelligence was brought to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by the master of the Knights Templars in England, from the Bishop of Litchfield, the treasurer, on the 18th of July 1296, that above one thousand men of Flanders, and others, subjects of the King of France, disguised as fishermen, were preparing to attack and burn Yarmouth and the adjacent places. Orders were immediately sent to the bailiffs and inhabitants of that town, to collect their ships, to oppose those vessels; and Sir John Botetourt, the keeper of the sea, was directed to proceed in person, and assist them with all his ships and mariners.[b]

In this year an act of great intrepidity was performed in Gascony by Sir Simon de Montacute. The town of Burgh, on the banks of the Garonne, then in the possession of the English, was closely besieged by French troops; and the garrison sent to Blaye for assistance. But the river was so protected by the enemy's galleys, that the crew of the ship which was

and that *four* were burnt. Fordun gives a very different account of the affair. He says that a large fleet of English ships of the Cinque Ports, filled with men, attacked the town in 1295, were repulsed, and lost by fire *eighteen* ships and many lives; and that in the following year (1296) Edward, being much exasperated at this circumstance, besieged Berwick, and approaching the gates under Scottish banners, on the 29th of March, soon after day-break, deceived the garrison into the belief that they were friends; but, as soon as the Scots were aware of their mistake, they made a gallant though useless resistance. He adds, that Edward put seven thousand five hundred persons, of all ages and both sexes, to the sword, and that enough blood was spilt to "turn a mill!" —Scotichronicon, ed. Goodall, vol. II. p. 159.

[a] Rot. Patent. 24 Edw. I. m. 10. 13; 23 Edw. I. *passim*; 25 Edw. I. p. 2. m. 14.

[b] Memorandum in the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office.

ordered to go to Burgh from Blaye with provisions, refused to proceed. Montacute, however, gallantly forced a passage through the midst of the French galleys, and reaching Burgh in safety, the French raised the siege of the place.[a] A. D. 1296.

On the 8th of March 1297, a convention was made at Bruges, between Guy Count of Flanders and the King of England, by his envoys the Bishop of Chester, and Sir John Berwick, Clerk, and "my Lord William de Leybourne, Admiral of the sea of the said King of England," for establishing perpetual peace and concord between the masters and mariners of England, Bayonne, and Flanders, and for the greater security of themselves, the merchants, and others of those countries. It was agreed that all ships of England and Bayonne, and others of the dominion of England, going to Flanders, should carry "the signal of the arms of the King of England;"[b] and that the ships of the dominions of the Count of Flanders, going by sea, should have "the signal of the said Count," and also letters-patent sealed with the common seal of the city to which such ship might belong, certifying that it did belong to that town, and was subject to the Count of Flanders, which was agreed to in order that the enemies of England and Flanders might not falsely hoist the Count's signal.[c] Injuries of all kinds committed by the one party against the other were to be punished by the *lex talionis*—death for death, member for member; and other injuries were to be redressed according to the law of the place where they were A. D. 1297.

[a] Walsingham, p. 30.

[b] "Aient le signal des armes du Roy d'Angleterre."

[c] "Ne les pussent desceivre, enpreignant et contrefaisans le signal du Conte."

A. D. 1297. committed; but the general peace was not to be disturbed on account of any murder, robbery, or other offence, nor for any delay in obtaining redress.[a] This agreement appears to have been published throughout the English navy, as it is said to have been delivered to John Savage, at Gillingham, for that purpose.[b] A treaty of alliance was immediately after concluded between England and Flanders against France.[c]

Edward having resolved to assist the Count of Flanders in person, embarked in a cog called, after himself, the "Edward," at Winchelsea, on the 22nd of August 1297; and as soon as he was on board he received the Great Seal from his Chancellor, Sir John de Langton, and delivered it into the custody of Sir John de Benstede, who accompanied him abroad.[d] The King took with him a large fleet, and an army consisting, if the Chronicler is to be credited, of fifteen hundred cavalry, and fifty thousand foot soldiers, of whom thirty thousand were Welsh. He landed at Sluys on the 27th of August;[e] but no sooner had he taken up his quarters, than a quarrel arose among the sailors of his fleet, arising out of old dissensions between the people of the Cinque Ports and those of Yarmouth.[f] The men of the Cinque Ports seem to have begun the affray by boarding the Yarmouth vessels, slaying their crews, and burning above twenty ships. Such was the fury of the rioters, that the King's commands were entirely disregarded; and only three of the Yarmouth vessels could put to sea and make their escape.[g] This

[a] Fœdera, I. 861.
[b] "Pur faire crier sur la marine."
[c] Fœdera, I. 862.
[d] Fœdera, I. 876; Hardy's Catalogue of the Lords Chancellors, 8vo., 1843, p. 14.
[e] Wikes, 304.
[f] "Nostri marinarii de portubus inveteratum illud odium quod inter ipsos et marinarios de Jarnemewe ab antiquo duraverat ad memoriam reducentes." Vide p. 238, *ante*.
[g] Knyghton, col. 2512; Wikes, 304. Walsingham (p. 34) says that

circumstance forcibly shows the daring and lawless habits of English sailors at the close of the thirteenth century, the want of military discipline, and the inconveniences and uncertainty which then attended all naval operations. A. D. 1297.

In February 1298 preparations were made for the King's return; and on the 26th of that month the Cinque Ports were informed that he required at least one hundred ships for his passage; and, as he had only twenty with him, they were immediately to provide the eighty that were deficient.[a] Edward landed at Sandwich on the 14th of March, and lost no time in proceeding to join his army in Scotland. On the 3rd of December the Cinque Ports were commanded to have all their "service," namely, fifty-seven ships, at Skinburness, near Carlisle, by the 6th of June in the following year;[b] and similar orders were sent to forty-five other English, and to six Irish ports, all of which were to furnish from one to three ships. The names of those ports are subjoined, because they show the relative importance of the maritime towns of England, Wales, and Ireland at the period.[c] Though the A. D. 1298.

the quarrel was between the sailors of Portsmouth and Yarmouth, and that twenty-five ships belonging to the latter were burnt.

[a] Fœdera, I. 886.

[b] Ibid. I. 901—928; Knyghton, col. 2510.

[c] Fœdera, I. 928.

Ships.	Ships.	Ships.
Harwich, 1.	Lynn, 3.	London, 2.
Ipswich, 2.	Hull, 1.	Northfleet, 1.
Gosford and Baldsey, 2.	Wainfleet and Saltfleet, 2.	Gillingham, 1.
Orford, 1.	St. Botolph, 1.	Sheford, 1.
Swynhumber, 1.	Whitby, 1,	Aldringham, 2.
Dunwich, 1.	Raveneseye, 1.	Hampton, 2.
Blakeney, 2.	Hedon, 1.	Weymouth, 1.
Skottemuth and Brunnemuth, 1.	Grimsby, 1.	Exmouth, 1.
Thornham and Holm, 1.	New Castle, 2.	Dartmouth, 2.
Heeham and Flychene, 1.	Scarborough, 2.	Clyne [*qu.* Chine], 1.
		Poole, 1.

A. D. 1298. Cinque Ports were ordered to send their full service, it appears that the King dispensed with part of that force, as no more than thirty ships proceeded to Scotland. Some curious information respecting that fleet will be found in a subsequent page.[a]

A. D. 1299. A truce for two years having been concluded between France and England, and it being agreed that all ships and other property taken before the commencement of the war by either party should be restored, orders to that effect were issued on the 18th of September 1299.[b]

A. D. 1300. In May 1300 directions were sent to the bailiffs of the sea-port towns, to induce the inhabitants to send their ships to the King; and on the 10th of November ships were ordered to be provided and sent to Scotland.[c] The masters of vessels, going to Gascony and other French ports for wine, were at this time warned to proceed with caution, lest they were surprised by the enemy,[d] the truce with France having expired.

A. D. 1304. A great change in the political relations of England and France having taken place in consequence of the intended alliance of the Prince of Wales with the daughter of the French monarch, the King agreed, in April 1304, to furnish Philip with twenty ships for four months, for his expedition into Flanders.[e]

Ships.	Ships.	Ships.
Lynn [*qu.* Lyme], 1.	Bristol, 2.	Ireland—Waterford, 1.
Teignmouth, 1.	Shoreham, Brighelmston, and Portsmouth, 1.	Dublin, 1.
Plymouth, 1.		Youghall, 1.
Looe, 1.		Ross, 1.
Bridgewater, 1.	Wales—Hereford, 1.	Drogheda, 1.
Fowey, 1.	Ireland—Cork, 2.	

[a] Vide p. 203 *et seq.*, *post*.
[b] Fœdera, 1. p. 913.
[c] Rot. Patent. 29 and 30 Edw. I.
[d] Fœdera, 1. 936.
[e] Ibid. 961, 962.

On the 2nd of July 1306, a letter was sent to A. D. 1306.
"Gervase Alard, captain and admiral of the King's fleet, of the ships of our Cinque Ports, and also of all other ports from Dover to Cornwall, and of the whole county of Cornwall," (to which office he was appointed in February 1303, and again in June 1306,[a]) commanding him to proceed with the said fleet, well provided with men and stores, to Skinburness, or Kirkcudbright, as speedily as possible, to suppress the rebellion of the Scots. Similar orders were also issued to Edward Charles, captain and admiral of the King's fleets, from the Thames to Berwick on Tweed."[b] Though the King was attended by the shipping of the Cinque Ports during his war in Scotland, no other nautical proceedings appear to have taken place, than the conveyance of troops, stores, and provisions, wherever they were required.

King Edward the First died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, A. D. 1307.
near Carlisle, on the 7th of July 1307.

[a] Rot. Patent. 31 and 34 Edw. 1.; Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 34 Edw. I. p. 150. Vide APPENDIX.

[b] Fœdera, i. 990. Vide APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XI.

SHIPS AND GALLEYS ORDERED AT BAYONNE FOR THE KING OF CASTILE.—CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT.—DESCRIPTION AND EXPENSES OF THE SHIPS SENT AGAINST THE WELSH AND SCOTS.—BARGES.—FLEET OF THE CINQUE PORTS, AND NEW CHARTERS GRANTED TO THOSE PLACES.—TOWNS AMERCED FOR NOT PROVIDING SHIPPING.—LAW OF WRECK.—MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.—NAVAL LAWS.—CONVENTION WITH FLANDERS.—RIGHT OF ENGLAND TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA.—BANNERS, AND PENCELLS OR PENDANTS.

It does not appear that there was much, if any, alteration in the construction, size, or rig of English ships in the reign of Edward the First; but some progress was made in the organization of the English Navy.

As has been already observed, the King of Castile applied to his brother-in-law, the King of England, in 1276, for assistance in his war against the infidels, and Edward promised to send him some galleys from Bayonne.[a] The correspondence which took place with the authorities and others at Bayonne on the subject is curious in itself, and particularly valuable for the nautical information it contains.

On the 1st of May 1276, the archdeacon, the chamberlain, and other officers, and the heads of two monastic houses of Bayonne, wrote to the King of England, announcing the arrival of Master William de Montegauger, a priest, whom he had sent with orders to equip and arm twelve ships and twenty-four

[a] Vide p. 265, *ante*. See also Fœdera, I. 531. 552. 580.

galleys for the King of Castile; and stating that the mayor had accordingly, at his request, several times summoned before him the steersmen, masters, and mariners of ships, smiths, carpenters, and other workmen,[a] to consult on the best means of carrying the King's commands into effect; that, after many deliberations, they had made the following estimate, viz. that every ship of one hundred and eighty tons and upwards required sixty men, and a freight[b] of 100*l.* sterling a year; that a galley of one hundred and twenty oars would cost 240*l.* morlani,[c] and each oar 46*l.* morlani, when ready for sea, and required twenty-five men; while a galley of one hundred oars would require twenty men, and a galley of eighty oars fifteen men,[d] besides the rowers, and besides six or eight "comitres."[e] That to each of the "magni,"[f] and to each of the "comitres," as well as to him who should be appointed the chief, fifteen esterlings[g] a day must be given; to each cross-bowman, nine esterlings; and to each sailor and rower, six esterlings a day,[h] according

[a] "Sturmanos, magistros, et marinarios navium, fabros, carpentarios, et alios in hujusmodi opere et negocio sapientes."

[b] "Freto," *i. e.* "hire."

[c] "Libra Morlana—solidi Morlani—money of Beneharnum (a city of Acquitaine, at the base of the Pyrenees), so called from "Morlas," the town in which it was coined. The Morlan money was worth three times and a quarter that of Tours: so that a Morlan shilling was of the value of 3*s.* 3*d.* Tours. It was current not only at Beneharnum, but throughout all Gascony."—Ducange, *in voce.*

[d] These men were afterwards called "supra salientes," vide p. 288, *post.*

[e] Or "comite;" and Sous Comites were the officers who superintended the rowers, and gave them the signal for each stroke of the oars with a whistle. — See Archéologie Navale, I. 302. 471; II. 121.

[f] The "magni" were also officers, but their precise duty has not been ascertained. The term does not occur in the "Archéologie Navale," nor in Ducange.

[g] "An esterling was equal to four deniers Tournois, and there were two hundred and twenty tournois to a mark, so that each tournois was equal to about four sous nine deniers, and the esterling to nineteen sous of our money." — Buchon's Froissart, tome I. p. 19.

[h] "Et in qualibet essent necessarii sex comitres vel octo, et quilibet magnorum et comitrum indi-

to the rate established in the time of the King's father. All these persons were to find themselves by the year with arms, victuals, and other necessaries whatever. They would expect the moiety of all gains, except a city, town, castle, or lands were taken, and that whatever provisions and eatables they could seize should be their own. The galleys could be completed by the ensuing Christmas, and be ready to sail, "in the name of God," in the following March; but even if the ships were ready to sail by Michaelmas, the writers would not advise that they should then be despatched, because it would not benefit the King nor the Christian people; and the ships would be endangered by the sea storms of winter. The King was further informed, that no one could be found who would undertake the contract by the month, by agreement, nor by the half-year, but by the year only; that men and mariners, to arm and equip these ships and galleys, would be easily found at Bayonne and in Gascony at the usual rate of payment: and they suggested, that the indulgence of the Cross should be granted to them by the Pope or his legate, which indulgence would induce a superior class of persons, as well as others, the more willingly to serve.

Master William de Montegauger transmitted the preceding letter, and made his own report to the King. After stating what had been done, he said, that, as the equipment of the ships and galleys would be attended with greater expense than the King ex-

geret indie, et eciam illi qui pro majoribus assignabuntur, quindecim sterlingos; et quilibet balistarius, novem sterlingos; et quilibet marinarius, et etiam quilibet illorum qui trahent galeas, sex sterlingorum, sicut alias jam tempore illustrissimi Domini patris vestro bonæ memoriæ fuit taxatum et estimatum."

pected, namely, 56,000 marks, or 37,330*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, a year, and as he had not the money to pay at the specified periods, and that, even if he had it, the shipping would not be useful to the King of Castile until March, he had not ventured to order the work to be commenced, but waited until he knew the King's pleasure. The workmen had, he said, informed him, that the moment they ceased to be paid their wages, they would entirely discontinue their employment. Under these circumstances, he considered that he could not prudently order the ships to be begun with the thousand marks in his hands. He then besought the King to acquaint him with his pleasure; and, if he wished the work to be undertaken, that he would immediately send him the money, so that it might be commenced in the present summer, by which the King would have the better bargain, as the workmen would work longer in long days. He added his conviction, that, if the money were only sent, all the shipping would be perfectly ready long before March. Montegauger then stated that William Arnold of Saubagnac had proposed to him to complete half the shipping, with all necessaries, for 20,000 marks a year, but that he would not enter into a written contract, unless he (Montegauger) would bind himself to pay a moiety of that sum before the 24th of June, and the other moiety in the beginning of August, and would also agree to the suspicious conditions[a] mentioned in the schedule annexed. But, he added, even if everything were ready, no good man could be found to serve in these vessels, unless he had first the indulgence of the Holy Land, which it

[a] "Suspectis conditionibus."

was necessary to obtain, and to have it proclaimed in every way at Bayonne.

The schedule containing Arnold's propositions affords much curious information. He proposed to Sir William de Montegauger, "for the honour of God, and the service of the King of England and the Queen," to furnish half of the shipping required, namely, six ships for himself and his friends, each carrying at least one hundred and eighty tons or more, and to place in every ship sixty men. He also offered to fit out twelve galleys, and to place in each of four of them one hundred and twenty rowers, and twenty "supra-salientes;"[a] in each of four other galleys, one hundred rowers, and twenty "supra-salientes;" and in the other four galleys, eighty rowers, and fifteen "supra-salientes." He would undertake to have these ships and galleys ready by the last day of August, provided that Montegauger paid him 20,000 marks in the manner which has been specified in that person's letter to the King. For that sum he offered to provide the said shipping, notwithstanding other persons had said upon their oaths that they would cost 56,000 marks, whereof he had, from his moiety, out of love of the King, taken off 8000 marks.

If Montegauger would immediately agree to these propositions, Arnold would consider the contract concluded; but if he first sent to the King, then he was to be allowed as much time to provide the shipping after the 31st of August as would be taken up by the messenger in going and returning. Arnold

[a] The "supra-salientes," or "sobressalientes," the cross-bow and other fighting men on board a galley, as distinguished from the rowers and the crew. — Archéologie Navale, II. 328.

further stipulated, that the year should commence from the day on which he had the ships and galleys at La ,[a] from Bayonne, ready to put to sea, or, as he poetically expresses it, ready "to give the sails to the wind,"[b] during the whole of which year he was to be in the King's service, on all the sea coast of Spain and Africa, as far as the Island of Majorca, if necessary, and beyond;[c] that he should have the moiety of all the gains he might make, except land; that he should not be answerable to the King nor to any other person for whatever provisions and food he might acquire for himself and his comrades; that, if he lost any ship or galley by accident, which God forbid, he should not be bound to find another, but might distribute the men belonging to such vessel among the other ships; that, if any of the men died a natural death, he would *bonâ fide* replace him with another, as soon as he could; but if a man died in any other manner, or was slain, he was not to be bound to replace him; and that, at the end of his year of service, the ships should be delivered to him; but the galleys were to be at the King's disposal (evidently because the ships were only hired, while the galleys were to be built at the King's expense). Arnold said that this arrangement could not be completed, unless the indulgence of the Pope, as it was plenarily granted to voyagers beyond sea, were granted to him and his comrades. He further stipulated, that he might retain any gifts made to him, and that he should not be obliged to serve in person; and he observed, that, when the payment

[a] The name of this place is omitted.

[b] "Et dandum vela vento."

[c] "Et ad plus."

of the ships and galleys was made, the wages of each man would be only four esterlings and a half. He requested that the mayor of Bayonne should be ordered to take measures for preventing the price of wood, iron, galleys, and carpenters from being raised at Bayonne above what it was on the day of Montegauger's arrival in that city; that, if the shipping should by any accident be countermanded, and he had incurred any expense, he should not be obliged to make good such expense, nor the wages of the men or carpenters; and that, while the galleys and ships were building, he might receive timber for the purpose from any part of the King's territories.[a]

A minute account of the ships that were sent against the Isle of Anglesey during the war with the Welsh in 1277[b] is preserved; and it affords some useful information. The fleet consisted of eighteen ships, all of which were furnished by the Cinque Ports, except a dromon[c] belonging to Southampton, and four other vessels, one of which was called the "Rose." All the large ships of the Cinque Ports had two officers, called "rectors," by one of whom they were commanded; while the smaller ships had one rector and one constable, and their crews averaged from twenty to twenty-eight men. The Cinque Port fleet was commanded by two captains, styled "captains over the fleet of eighteen ships of the ports,"[d] and the total number of mariners was four hundred and nineteen. In each of the four other ships were a rector and a constable, and about the same number of men as in the vessels from the Cinque Ports; but the

[a] Originals in the Tower.
[b] Vide pp. 265, 266, *ante*.
[c] Literally "dromedary," ("dromedarius").
[d] "Capitanei super navigium octodecim navium de Portubus."

dromon had only nineteen mariners. The pay was the same as at a later period, namely, the two captains 12*d.*, the rectors, the master of the dromon, and the constables 6*d.*, and the sailors 3*d.* a day.[a]

Numerous ships were purchased in 1282 for the expedition against the Welsh,[b] the account of the cost of which, and of the money paid in wages to the sailors on that occasion, still exists. This record, which states that the war was begun on Palm Sunday (the 5th of April) in that year by David the brother of Llewellyn Prince of Wales, is of great length, but it does not add much to what was already known respecting the Navy. Each ship had one master and one constable, both receiving 6*d.*, and the sailors 3*d.* a day. The price of the ships varied from four to thirteen pounds, which proves that they must have been very small vessels, for double the largest of those sums was then paid for anchors and cables for the King's ships and galleys; and 4*l.* 3*s.* were expended on small ropes, iron nails, and in making clayes for them. A galley, however, cost 45*l.*; and a new barge, with its rigging, bought at Romney for the King's service, and a new barge built and fitted out at Winchelsea, cost altogether 80*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* The crews of the ships and cogs of the Cinque Ports,—one of which vessels was called "The Cow,"[c] and another the "Holy Cross,"—as well as others, were paid by the Crown; and the whole expense incurred was 1404*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*[d]

[a] Roll of the wages of mariners who went to the Isle of Anglesey, 10 Edw. I., in the Carlton Ride Repository.

[b] Vide p. 266, *ante*.

[c] "La Vache," of Winchelsea.

[d] Roll of the purchases of ships and the wages of sailors, paid by Master William de Luda, then keeper of the wardrobe of the Lord Edward King of England in the eighteenth year of his reign, in the Carlton Ride Repository.

The stores, provisions, and other necessaries of a ship in 1290 are shewn by the list of articles purchased by Sir Matthew de Columbers, the King's butler, "going to Yarmouth to take there a great ship, and to store the same with divers things necessary to send it to Norway to bring thence to England the Lady Margaret," daughter of the King of Norway and heiress of Scotland, who was intended to marry Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward the Second; but the Princess died about that time in Norway. The provisions consisted of wine, ale, corn, beef, pork, bacon, stock fish, sturgeons, herrings, and lampreys, almonds, rice,[a] beans, peas, onions, leeks, cheese, nuts, salt, vinegar, mustard, pepper, cummin seed, ginger, cinnamon, figs, raisins, saffron, and ginger-bread; and, among the necessaries, were wax torches, tallow candles, cressets, lanthorns, napkins, wood, and biscuit,[b] to which were added a banner of the King's arms, and a silk streamer for the ship.[c] For the whole of these articles only 29*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* was paid. The master received sixpence, the forty sailors threepence, and the boys who took care of the stores twopence a day each. The five envoys were Henry de Rye, clerk of the Bishop of Durham, the Abbot of Welbeck, Master Henry de Cranebourne, and two friars, Geoffrey de Fugiers and John de Bekoyngham, whose retinue consisted of eighteen men and boys, of whom three were esquires, (who, like Masters Rye and Cranebourne, received a new robe on the occasion,) and eighteen horses. If, as seems to have been the case,

[a] "Rys."

[b] "Bisquyt."

[c] "Et pro organis baneriis de armis Regis et pencellis cum sindon serico et card emptis et pro nave depingenda."

all those persons proceeded to Norway, the ship must, besides the stores and horses, have had on board about eighty persons. There is some difficulty in fixing the length of the voyage. The master and sailors received wages for seventy-one days; but the allowance to the envoys and their suite was from the 1st of May to the 23rd of June, fifty-three days; and that amount included "the expenses of forty-four seamen, who were in the ship in which they went to Norway, for thirty-four days, going and remaining in Norway and returning." It seems, however, that the ship was hired two or three weeks before the envoys embarked, apparently at Newcastle, to which port she returned; and a person was sent there to make an inventory of the stores that remained unconsumed.[a]

When the naval subsidy was raised in 1294,[b] Yarmouth and eleven other northern ports furnished fifty-three ships. The largest vessel, called "Dieu la Sauve," and commanded by John Oliver, had fifty-seven men and two constables; and the smallest, twenty-three men and one constable. Before they sailed, twenty shillings' worth of wine was advanced to each of the masters, the value of which was charged against his wages.[c]

Very interesting information respecting the Navy in this reign may be derived from the expenses of the Crown in 1299 and 1300, for the war in Scotland.[d]

[a] Wardrobe Accounts of the 18th Edw. I. in the Tower.

[b] Vide p. 270.

[c] "Yarmouth.—To John Oliver, master of 'La Dieu la Sauve,' for himself, two constables, and fifty-seven sailors: the same receives in wine, of prest upon his wages, 20*s*. To Richard de Goseford, master of 'La Grant Mariot,' for himself, one constable, and forty-eight sailors: the same receives in wine, of prest upon his wages, 20*s*."—Original in the Tower.

[d] "Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae" (or Wardrobe Accounts) of the 28th Edw. I., 4to. 1787.

The vessels employed in that expedition consisted of ships, galleys, barges, snakes, cogs, and boats. Of this fleet the greater part belonged to the Cinque Ports, but they sent only thirty ships instead of their full service; and, as this is the first occasion on which an accurate list of any part of that force occurs, it will be inserted, and be best understood by placing the statements in a tabular form:—

HASTINGS.

VESSELS' NAMES.	MASTERS.	CONSTABLES.	MARINERS.
The Ship La Blyth, of Hastings	John Moket	1	19
La Bret, of Hastings	Gilbert Scot	1	19
The Nicholas, of Pevensey	John le Mouner	2	39
The Snake, of Rye	John Kittey	2	39
The Godyere, of Rye	Robert Michell	2	39
The Rose, of Rye	Reginald Baudethon	2	39
The Cog Saint Edward, of Winchelsea	Harry at Carte	2	39
The Cog Saint Mary, of Winchelsea	Henry Aubyn	2	39
The Cog Saint Thomas, of Winchelsea	Thomas de Standamore	2	39
The Snake Saint Thomas, of Winchelsea	John Manckyn	2	39
The Cog Saint Giles, of Winchelsea.	Hamond Roberd	2	39

ROMENHALE, I. E. ROMNEY.

The Riche, of Romenhale	Stephen Unwyne	2	39
The Godelyne, of Romenhale	William Eadwy	2	39

HYTHE.

The Ship Holy Cross, of Hythe	John le Wyse	2	39
The Blythe, of Hythe	Thomas le Ridere	1	19
The Nicholas, of Hythe	William Brunyng	1	19
The Waynepayne, of Hythe	William de Forindon	1	19

DOVER.

The Cog, of Dover	John Lomb	2	39
The Godyn, of Dover	William Godyn	2	34
The Ship Saint Edward, of Dover	Peter Hanckyn	2	34
The Christina, of Dover	John le Solton	2	35
The Rose, of Dover	John Wenstan	2	32
The Chivaler, of Dover	William Shepeye	2	34
The Mabely, of Dover	Nicholas Sandrckyn	2	34
The Malyne, of Dover	Thomas le Ken	2	33
The Nicholas, of Feversham	Roger Willey	2	37
The Cog Folkestone, of Folkestone	Simon Adam	1	23

SANDWICH AND LYDD.

VESSELS' NAMES.	MASTERS.	CONSTABLES.	MARINERS.
The Sauveye, of Sandwich . .	William Gundy .	2 . .	39
The Ship Holy Ghost, of Sandwich .	John Lamberd .	2 . .	39
The Cog Saint Thomas, of Sandwich .	Gervase de Wardon	2 . .	39

The Cinque Port fleet was commanded by one Admiral, Gervase Alard, who was styled "Admiral of the said fleet;" and four Captains, William Pate, Justin Alard, William Charles of Sandwich, and John Aula of Dover, who were described as "Captain of the sailors of the said ports;" and there was a chaplain, Sir Robert of Sandwich, to confess the sailors.[a]

After the fifteen days for which the Cinque Ports were bound to find their service had expired, the officers and men received daily wages from the King. The pay of the Admiral was two shillings; of the Captains one shilling; of the masters, constables, and chaplain, sixpence; and of each sailor, threepence a day. The masters of these ships also received twenty shillings each for pilotage for the whole coast of Scotland and Ireland.[b] A pilot's wages for eight days' piloting a ship from Kirkcudbright to Caerlaverock were two shillings;[c] and the master of a ship going from Kirkcudbright to Dublin, in fifteen days, was allowed six shillings and eightpence for pilotage.[d] Many other vessels are mentioned in the same accounts. A powerful baron, Sir Simon de Montacute, had two galleys, or one galley and a barge, each contain-

[a] "Domino Roberto de Sandwyco capellano existente in dicta flota, pro dictis nautis confitendis."—Wardrobe Accounts, p. 276.

[b] "Pro lodmannagio earundem navium per totum costeram Scotie et Hibernie pro qualibet nave."—Ibid. p. 276.

[c] "Pro vadiis unius lodmanni conducti pro eadem navi guianda inter Kirkcudbrith et Karlaverock per idem tempus, ij. s."—Ibid. p. 273.

[d] "Pro lodmannagio ejusdem navis."—Ibid. p. 276.

ing a master, three constables, and ninety-five men. William le Eyr and John Gregory, masters of a galley and a barge belonging to Sir Simon de Montacute, probably the vessels just mentioned, coming to Scotland by the King's command, received 65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* for their wages, and the wages of three constables and ninety-five sailors, from the 24th of May, on which day they made sail[a] from the port of Bridgewater to the parts aforesaid, until the 12th of July, both computed, being fifty days, according to the account made with the said Sir Simon de Montacute, at Holm.[b] Montacute was also paid 1*l.* for the freight of one ship, carrying his horses and those of another knight returning from Ireland to Skinburness, in the King's service.[c]

The barges usually carried, besides the master, twelve men, the common galleys twenty-six, and other vessels from three to fifteen men, according to their size. A barge called "The Holy Ghost, of Sandwich," commanded by John Hurein, which was sent to Ireland with letters, had, however, a crew of thirty men. A vessel which carried one hundred and forty quarters of wheat had nine men; another, laden with military engines, eight; and one laden with five tons of wine, seven men, besides their respective masters.

The shipping mentioned besides those of the Cinque Ports were principally "The Saint George, of Dartmouth," "The Bredeship, of Furneaux," "The St. Mary, of Bayonne," "The Nicholas, of Geton," "The Godale, of Beverley," the "Navis Dei" or "Ship of God, of Hartlepool," "The Welfare, of Brighlengsey,"

[a] "Traxerunt velum." [b] Wardrobe Accounts, p. 275.
[c] Ibid. p. 83.

"The Black-boat, of Chester," "The Sauve, of Lynn," "The Grace Dieu, of Ross." The Irish ports sent "The Strethtaile" and "Goodyere, of Dublin," and "The Mariote, of Drogheda." These vessels were chiefly employed in carrying engines, stores, and provisions, especially corn, from Ireland.

A few other entries in those Accounts are of some interest. Gervase Alard, Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, was paid twenty shillings for nails, boards, and other wood, which he had purchased to make a hurdling[a] or lattice-work in the boat belonging to the cog "St. Edward, of Winchelsea," for the Scottish war, and for the carpenters' wages in making the said hurdling.[b] Alard having proceeded to the King at La Rose, to receive his commands respecting the fleet, 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* were paid for the black horse on which he was to ride back to Winchelsea.[c] Before the fleet sailed for England, the King gave Alard twenty shillings, and to each of three captains of the sailors of the Cinque Ports one mark, for their expenses in returning to their own homes. On the same occasion, and for the same purpose, three of the sailors also received a mark, and another of them five shillings.[d] On the 4th of September, two boys were sent by Sir John St. John to the King, at Holm, to explain some rumours about the sailors of the Cinque Ports.[e]

Though scarcely relating to the Navy, it is perhaps sufficiently relevant to the subject to notice the payments for conveying the King and Royal Family on the Thames. Fulk le Cupere, master of the King's

[a] "Hurdicio;" probably an erection from which arrows could be shot.

[b] Wardrobe Accounts, p. 72.
[c] Ibid. p. 166.
[d] Ibid. p. 167.
[e] Ibid. p. 165.

barge, and Absalon of Greenwich, master of Prince Edward's barge, were paid 1*l.* 10*s.* for conveying the King, the Prince, and part of their suite to divers places on the Thames, for their wages and the wages of the sailors with them. Le Cupere was also paid four shillings for repairing the said barge;[a] and on another occasion Absalon received 1*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* as the wages of himself and boatmen, for carrying the King, Queen, and Prince, and some of their suite, three times from Westminster to the Tower, and from thence to Westminster.[b] The masters of four large boats which conveyed the Queen and part of her suite to divers places, going to Westminster for their wages, and the wages of twenty-five other sailors, their comrades, for four days, received, each master threepence a day, and each sailor twopence. The ferryman of Putney-Heath was paid four shillings for ferrying the King's household with two barges up the Thames to Fulham;[c] and a man was paid 2*l.* for making certain additions to some boats which conveyed the Queen and her suite by water from Windsor to London.[d]

The services rendered by the Cinque Ports to the King in his expedition against the Welsh, in 1278, were rewarded by the grant of a new charter, by which all their former liberties were confirmed and some additional privileges granted to them. This charter was dated on the 17th of June 1278; and after reciting that it was given in consideration of the faithful service which the barons of the Cinque Ports had done to the King's predecessors and to himself, in his late expedition in Wales, and of the good

[a] Wardrobe Accounts, pp. 53, 54.
[b] Ibid. p. 98.
[c] Ibid. p. 54.
[d] Ibid. p. 96.

services which they would perform in future, it confirmed all former grants, and stated their privileges, (among which were exemptions from tolls and wreck, the right of buying, selling, and rebuying throughout all the King's dominions, having den[a] and strond[b] at Yarmouth according to the ordinance before mentioned, findals[c] in sea and land, and their honours in the King's Court,)[d] and it was forbidden to disturb them in their merchandise, on the penalty of ten pounds. In return for these privileges, they were to render yearly their full service of fifty-seven ships, at their cost for fifteen days, when summoned by the King. The additional concessions are then stated, and consisted principally in having utfangtheff[e] in their lands within their ports, in the same manner as prelates, earls, and barons had in Kent; that they should not be put on any assize, juries, or recognitions, against their will; that of their own wines, for which they trade, they should be quit of the King's duty or prise, namely, of one ton of wine before the mast, and another abaft the mast. They were also to be exempted from the Crown's right of wardships and marriages for land within the ports.[f]

King Edward the First granted two other charters to the Cinque Ports, one on the 28th of April 1298,

[a] The right of drying and mending nets at Great Yarmouth, upon certain marsh lands there, still called "the Denne."—Jeake.

[b] "A shore or landing-place, but here taken for the liberty the fishermen had to go to the quay at Yarmouth and land their herrings freely."—Ibid.

[c] Treasure-trove, *i. e.* found; the word is elsewhere written "findings." Goods found in the sea belonged to the finder: — "Tresor musce en terre et trove, volons que soit nostre; et si il soit trove en meer, adoques soit il al trovour." —Britton, c. 17.

[d] Vide p. 263, *ante*.

[e] An ancient royalty or privilege granted to the lord of a manor by the King, which gave him power to punish a thief dwelling and committing theft out of his liberty, if taken within his fee.

[f] Fœdera, i. 558; Jeake's Cinque Ports, pp. 6—38.

by which the hulls and rigging of their ships[a] were exempted from taxation of all kinds; and it was provided that no man should be a partner of any goods and merchandise they might buy in Ireland, nor partake thereof in any way without their consent; and permission was given to all persons born in the Cinque Ports to marry as they pleased, though they might hold lands elsewhere by such service that their marriages would, if they were minors, have belonged to the Crown.[b] The other charter, which was also dated on the 28th of April 1298, recited that the King, "considering that his shipping of the Cinque Ports could not be maintained without great cost and expenses, and in order that shipping should not fail in future," he had granted that all the inhabitants of those ports, and others calling themselves of their liberty, and willing to enjoy the same, should contribute, each according to his means, to perform the service with their ships when required.[c]

When the whole number of fifty-seven ships was not wanted, the Crown demanded only as many as were necessary, and could order the men belonging to the remaining vessels to be put on board the ships that were to serve. Thus, in November 1302, the keeper of the Cinque Ports was informed, that, though the King had commanded the full service of ships to be at Newcastle in August, yet he only wished twenty-five ships to be sent; but that the said twenty-five ships should be provided with the same number of men, as well sailors as other fighting men, as the fifty-seven ships would have had.[d]

[a] "Corporibus navium suarum et earum attilio præstand'."

[b] Jeake's Cinque Ports, pp. 39, 40.

[c] Ibid. p. 41.

[d] "Ut in nautis, et hominibus aliis defensabilibus."—Fœdera, I. 945.

If a port did not furnish the ship or ships which it was bound, or had undertaken to provide, the inhabitants stated their reasons for the omission; and if the excuse was not satisfactory, the town was indicted and amerced. In 1284, when shipping were required from the ports of Hampshire, to serve at the cost of those places, for three or four months, and afterwards at the King's expense, and which were to be employed in protecting merchandise from the Scots, and in harassing the Scottish coast, the Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Beaulieu, and Sir John St. John, who had been empowered to demand these vessels, made a report of their proceedings to the King, stating what ports had sent their ships, and the answers they had received from other places. About 1301, the towns of Poole, Warham, and Lyme not having each sent one ship, which they had consented to furnish for the Scottish war, they were ordered to be punished at the discretion of certain commissioners.[a] In 1304, judgment was obtained in the King's Bench against the town of Seaford, for not sending a well equipped ship for the King's service;[b] and in the same year the custos of the Cinque Ports was ordered to arrest several masters and constables of ships, who had, against the prohibition of the Admiral, quitted his fleet without permission, in the island of Bote, when they ought to have proceeded against the Scotch and the King's rebels.[d]

The law of wreck was thus defined by a statute in 1276:—"Concerning wrecks of the sea, it is agreed, that where a man, a dog, or a cat escape quick out of

[a] Rot. Patent. 30 Edw. I.
[b] Placita, 33 Edw. I. r. 38.
[c] "Comitiva."
[d] Placita, 33 Edw. I. r. 38.

the ship, that such ship nor barge nor anything within them shall be adjudged wreck; but the goods shall be saved and kept by view of the sheriff, coroner, or the King's bailiff, and delivered into the hands of such as are of the town where the goods were found; so that if any sue for those goods and after prove that they were his, or perished in his keeping within a year and a day, they shall be restored to him without delay; and if not, they shall remain to the King, and be seized by the sheriffs, coroners, and bailiffs, and shall be delivered to them of the town, which shall answer before the justices, of the wreck belonging to the King; and where wreck belongeth to another than to the King, he shall have it in like manner: and he that otherwise doth and thereof be attainted, shall be awarded to prison, and make fine at the King's will, and shall yield damages also; and if a bailiff do it, and it be disallowed by the lord, and the lord will not pretend any title thereunto, the bailiff shall answer if he have whereof, and if he have not whereof, the lord shall deliver his bailiff's body to the King."[a]

In the ensuing year, the statute "for the office of coroner" was passed, which contained the following clause:—"Concerning wreck of the sea, wheresoever it be found, if any lay hands on it he shall be attached by sufficient pledges, and the price of the wreck shall be valued and delivered to the towns." The next passage seems to refer to persons in peril of shipwreck: "If any be suspected of the death of any man being in danger of life, he shall be taken and imprisoned as before is said."[b]

[a] Stat. 3 Edw. I. c. 4. (authorized edition) I. 28.

[b] Stat. 4 Edw. I. p. 41.

By the Laws of Oleron it was provided, that when it were necessary to lighten a ship in a storm by throwing part of the cargo overboard, technically called "ejections," the master was first to ask the consent of the merchant on board; but if he did not agree to his doing so, the master was nevertheless to act as he thought expedient.[a] It appears, however, that in this country the merchants had a lien for the goods so lost upon the property of the master and crew; and to remedy this injustice, the King issued the following remarkable ordinance in May 1285:—

"The King being informed that Gregory de Rokesle and Henry le Waleys, citizens of London, and others, as well merchants of England as of Ireland, Gascony, and Wales, had been accustomed to compel the barons of the Cinque Ports, and other sailors of the realm, to contribute to the 'ejections' from their freighted ships when in danger from storms at sea, out of the materials, rigging, ornaments, and other goods of the said barons and sailors,[b] he thought proper to order and declare, that the ship, so laden with merchandise or wine, with all its stores, the ring on the finger of the master of the ship, the provisions of the sailors, their cooking utensils, money, girdle, and silver cup of the master, out of which he drank, if he had it,[c] should be exempted from the said 'ejections' of the sea: also, that the freight of wines and other goods in the ship which were saved should be saved[d] to the

[a] Vide p. 95, *ante*.

[b] "Utensilibus, attiliis, armamentis, et aliis bonis ipsorum baronum et nautarum."

[c] "Cum toto apparatu, anulus magistri navis in digito suo portatus, victualia nautarum, utensilia ad prandia sua facienda usitata, monile, zona, et ciphus argenteus magistri navis unde biberit si quem habuerit, erunt quieta de auxilio ad ejectionem maris prædictam."

[d] "Salva," *i. e.* that the sailors should receive their freight upon such goods as were not thrown overboard.

sailors; that the master of the ship should lose his freight of casks or goods so thrown into the sea; that all other goods in the ship, belonging either to the sailors or merchants, as wines, merchandise, money in gross, beds, and other goods, except the aforesaid utensils and apparatus of the ship, provisions, cooking utensils of the sailors, money, girdle, silver cup, and ring, and the freight of goods saved, should thenceforth be appraised in aid of the restitution of the value of the wines and other goods thrown overboard in consequence of the tempest." Copies of this ordinance were sent to every port.[a]

A few facts of a miscellaneous nature are deserving of attention. In 1295 the bailiffs and commonalty of York were commanded to build a handsome and good galley, with one hundred and twenty oars, for the defence of the realm and security of the sea; but in 1301 they represented to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer that they had caused a galley of ninety-seven oars, a barge of thirty oars, and a small vessel to to be built,[b] for which no allowance had been made to them; and they therefore prayed for payment of the same. Two hundred pounds were accordingly allowed them; and they were permitted to make any profit of the said galley, barge, and small vessel, with all their rigging and stores, they could.[c] The inhabitants of Dunwich petitioned the King in 1304, stating that they had lost ten ships in his service in the wars, with the goods and men in them, whereby the town was impoverished to the amount of 1000*l.*; and they requested that they might charge that sum against the-

[a] Fœdera, I. 654.
[b] "Navicula."
[c] Original record in the Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office.

debts which they owed to the Crown. Sir John de Botetourt, who had commanded the fleet to which these ships had belonged, being referred to, part of the money claimed was allowed.[a] About 1302, Southampton, and twelve other towns on the southern and western coasts of England, promised the King a subsidy of well equipped ships for the war in Scotland, but they did not fulfill their engagement, and as Edward would not allow the neglect to go unpunished, he commanded two officers to punish the inhabitants of those places at their discretion.[b] In 1304 the King paid the arrears of wages due to the masters of two barges of Yarmouth, by giving them one of his own barges with all its rigging, which he had caused to be built at Newcastle for the Scottish war; and the mayor and bailiffs of Newcastle were directed to have the said barge appraised, and then to deliver it to those persons accordingly.[c] In June 1307, a sailor, called John Mariner, was sent from Lambeth to Dover, by command of the Prince of Wales, to make inquiries respecting a great ship in that port belonging to the Prince; he brought the ship to London, and received 3*l.* 10*s.* for his expenses, the wages of certain valets[d] who were with him in the ship, and for ropes and other articles, including a pot, a kettle, and gridirons, which he had bought for the use of the said ship. Another mariner was paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for conveying the Prince and some knights up the Thames from Gravesend to London. The master of a barge of Dover was paid 13*s.* 4*d.* to buy ropes, canvas, and other neces-

[a] Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. I. p. 166.

[b] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 30 Edw. I. p. 121[b].

[c] Ibid. 32 Edw. I. p. 135.

[d] The "valets" of the King and Royal family were usually gentlemen of good family.

saries for going in the Prince's company from London to Byfleet, and carrying in the said barge some knights and esquires of his household. John le Coupere, master of a barge of Greenwich, and sixteen of his comrades, were rewarded with 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, in July of that year, for conveying the Prince and his suite up the Thames from Greenwich to Weybridge.[a] A notice of "bridges" for ships throws some light upon the purpose to which they were applied. In 1294, the keeper of the New Forest was ordered to furnish four hundred bridges for two hundred ships, namely, two to each ship, of which bridges one was to be large, outside the ship, and the other smaller inside the ship.[b] About 1310 the chamberlain of North Wales was directed to cause the King's two cables and two anchors in his charge to be valued and delivered to Sir Simon de Montacute, whom he had appointed admiral of his fleet going to Scotland.[c]

Several laws and ordinances relating to Naval matters were made by King Edward the First. In the second year of his reign, 1273-74, it is said to have been ordained at Hastings by King Edward the First, and his lords, "That, whereas certain lords had divers franchises to hold pleas in the ports, but that neither their stewards nor bailiffs should hold any plea if it touched merchant or mariner, whether by deed as by charter of ships, obligations, or other deed, if the sum did not amount to twenty or forty shillings; and if any one were convicted of having acted to the contrary, he should be imprisoned and fined at the King's pleasure.

[a] Wardrobe Accounts of Edward Prince of Wales in the 35 Edw. I., Harleian MSS. 5001. f. f. 15. 42. 44, 45.

[b] Rot. Vascon. 22 Edw. I. m, 10.

[c] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 4 Edw. II. p. 178[b].

Every contract made between merchant and merchant, or merchant or mariner, beyond the sea or within high-water mark,[a] was to be tried before the admiral, and not elsewhere. Such persons as were indicted of holding before them "hue and cry," or bloodshed committed in salt water, or within high-water mark, if convicted, should be imprisoned for two years, and then fined at the pleasure of the King and the admiral."[b]

Prynne says, on the same authority,[c] that it was further ordained by the King and his lords at Hastings, that "no mariners in a voyage-royal should land on the enemy's coast to besiege any castle or town, or burn any houses, rob, ravish, or kill any persons on the land, without the admiral's or his lieutenant's direction, under pain of death, and other punishments to be inflicted on him by the admiral." This ordinance Prynne supposes to have been made in consequence of the proceedings between the English and French sailors in 1293; but if it were really made, the expressions, "voyage-royal," "admiral," and "lieutenant," show that it must have been written at a later period.

"There is," says Selden, "in the archives of the

[a] "Ou deins le flode marke."

[b] Prynne's Animadversions on Coke's Fourth Institute, p. 111, from the Black Book of the Admiralty, p. 29 (see the remarks on that MS. in p. 72, *ante*). It is obvious that these ordinances were entered in the "Black Book" long after they were made; but Prynne says, "the first two of them I find acknowledged as genuine in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and lately printed in Chief Justice Anderson's authorised reports in the case of Sir John Constable, p. 89, with this observation on and from them. According to those ordinances the Admirals had used their authority in the aforesaid places until this time, as well in things done beyond the sea and on the sea, as between high and low water mark." It appears, however, that these ordinances were cited, and the inferences drawn from them, in the arguments of counsel, and that they were not alluded to in the judgment of the Court. They are not even mentioned in Lord Coke's report of the case in his Fifth Report, pp. 106—108[b].

[c] Black Book of the Admiralty, p. 29; cited by Prynne in page 110 of his "Animadversions."

Tower of London, a bundle of parchments which contain some affairs relating to the times of Henry the Third, and of Edward the First and Third." The first, contained the agreement between the King and the Earl of Flanders about their ships bearing certain banners, which has been already alluded to:[a] and annexed to that record are three contemporary copies of a document entitled "De Superioritate Maris Angliæ et Jure Officii Admirallatûs in eodem;" to which, in one of the copies, are added the words "retinendis et confirmandis."

The great importance of this document is shewn by its having been adduced by the most learned lawyers and antiquaries of this country, Selden, Lord Coke, and Prynne, to prove the right of the King of England to the sovereignty of the narrow seas. Lord Coke says of it, "Now, for the great prerogative and interest that the King of England hath in the seas of England, and for the antiquity of the Court of the Admiralty of England, and of the name of the Admiral, we have seen an ancient and notable record."[b]

No date occurs to this instrument, but it is proved by internal evidence, that if the proceeding did actually take place, it must have been after the treaty which was made with France in May 1303, and before the death of King Edward the First in November 1307. The record, which is in Norman French, and is still preserved, was printed by Selden,[c] and he gives the following translation of it:—

[a] Vide p. 279, *ante*.

[b] Fourth Institute, p. 143.

[c] Mare Clausum, b. ii. c. 28. It was also printed by Lord Coke in his Fourth Institute, p. 142, who erroneously says, "This cause was handled in or about the twenty-second year of Edw. I. [1293—94] as by divers parts of the record it appeareth."

"To you, our lords auditors,[a] deputed by the Kings of England and France to redress the wrongs done to the people of their kingdoms, and of other territories subject to their dominion by sea and land in time of peace and truce, the procurators of the prelates, nobles, and of the Admiral of the sea of England,[b] and of the commonalties of cities and towns, and of the merchants, mariners, messengers, inhabitant strangers, and all others belonging to the said realm of England, and the other territories subject to the dominion of the said King of England, and of others under the jurisdiction of the same, as also divers other nations, inhabitants of the sea-coasts of Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Almaigne, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, Denmark, and Norway, and of divers other places of the Empire, do declare, That whereas the Kings of England, by right of the said kingdom from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, have been in peaceable possession of the sovereign lordship of the sea of England, and of the isles within the same, with power of making and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchant-men use to be, and of taking surety and affording safeguard in all cases where need shall require, and of ordering all other things necessary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity among all manner of people as well of other dominions as their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof, and also of taking all manner of cognizance in causes, and of doing right

[a] "Auditors or commissioners."—Selden.

[b] It is in favour of the genuineness of this document, that the same term occurs on another occasion. Vide p. 278, *ante*.

and justice to high and low, according to the said laws, statutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things which may appertain to the exercises of sovereign jurisdiction in the places aforesaid. And whereas A. de B.,[a] deputed admiral of the said sea by the King of England, and all other admirals appointed by the said King of England, and his ancestors heretofore Kings of England, have been in peaceable possession of the said sovereign guard, with power of jurisdiction, and other the aforesaid appurtenances, (except in case of appeal, and complaint made of them to their sovereigns the Kings of England, in default of justice or for evil judgment,) and especially of making prohibitions, doing justice, and taking surety of the peace of all manner of people using arms in the said sea, or carrying ships otherwise furnished and set forth than merchantmen use to be,[b] and in all other points where a man may have reasonable cause to suspect them of robbery or other misdemeanours. And whereas the masters of the ships of the said kingdom of England, in the absence of the said admiral, have been in peaceable possession of taking cognizance and judging of all actions done in the said sea between all manner of people, according to the laws, statutes, prohibitions, and customs. And whereas in the first article of the league lately made between the said Kings, in the treaty upon the last peace at Paris,[c] there are comprised the words

[a] "De Botetourt, Admiral of the sea. *Note:* For the antiquity of the Admiral of England. The said De Botetourt was Admiral of the sea coasting upon Yarmouth in Norfolk (*right* over against France), and of that station, in anno 22 Edw. I."—Lord Coke. It will be shewn that Botetourt was not styled "Admiral" in his commission on that occasion.

[b] "Ou menans niefs aultrement apparcilles ou garnies que n'appertient au nief de marchants."

[c] Dated at Paris on the 20th of May 1303, and printed in the Fœdera, i. 954.

here following in a schedule annexed to these presents.[a]

"'First, it is concluded and accorded between us, and the agents and procurators aforesaid, in the names of the said Kings, that the said Kings shall, from this time forward, become to each other good, true, and faithful friends, and be aiding to one another against all men (saving the Church of Rome), in such manner, that, if any one or more, whosoever they be, shall intend to disturb, hinder, or molest the said Kings in the franchises, liberties, privileges, rights, and customs of them and their kingdoms, they shall be good and faithful friends to each other, and aiding against all men living, and ready to die to defend, keep, and maintain the franchises, liberties, privileges, rights, and customs aforesaid, except on the behalf of the said King of England, John Duke of Brabant, in Brabant, and his heirs descending from him and the daughter of the King of England, and except on the behalf of our Lord the said King of France, the excellent Prince, Monsieur Albert, King of Almaigne, and Monsieur John, Earl of Hainault, in Hainault;[b] and that the one shall not be of counsel, nor aiding where the other may lose life, member, estate, or honour.'

[a] Selden observes that no schedule is annexed, but that the extract follows on the same parchment, whence it may, he says, "perhaps be conjectured that these are not so much the very libels themselves which were exhibited to the commissioners or auditors, as ancient copies taken from the original; as also from this, that the name of the Admiral is set down A. de B., which two first letters do not agree with the name of any one that we can find in record to have been Admiral of England at that time."

[b] These exceptions are rather differently stated in the treaty. "Exceptez pour le dit Roi de France, nostre Seigneur excellent Prince Monsier Aubert Roi d'Alemaigne et ses hoirs Rois d'Alemaine, et Mesire Jehan Conte de Henau en Henau; et exceptez pour le dit Roi d'Engleterre, Mesire Jehan Duc de Bre-

"Monsieur Reyner Grimbald,[a] master of the navy of the said King of France, who calls himself admiral of the said sea, being deputed by his aforesaid lord in his war against the Flemings, did, after the said league made and confirmed, against the tenor and obligations of the said league, and the intent of them that made it, wrongfully assume and exercise the office of admiralty in the said sea of England, above the space of a year by commission of the said King of France, taking the people and merchants of the kingdom of England, and of other places, passing through the said sea with their goods, and committed them so taken to the prisons of his said Lord the King of France, and delivered their goods and merchandises to the receivers of the said King of France, by him deputed in the ports of his said kingdom, as forfeited and due unto him, to remain at his judgment and award. And the taking and detaining of the said people with their said goods, as also his said judgment and award, for the forfeiture and acquest of them, he hath justified before you, lords auditors, in writing, by virtue of the authority of his said commission of admiralty aforesaid, by him usurped after this manner, and during a prohibition or restraint

bant et ses hoirs descendan de li et de la fille du dit Roi d'Angleterre." Fœdera, I. 954. Albert was elected Emperor of Germany in June 1298, and John Duke of Brabant, who married Margaret, daughter of King Edward the First, succeeded his father in 1294, which are additional proofs that Lord Coke was mistaken in assigning this document to the 22nd year of Edward the First.

[a] Selden has shewn that Reyner Grimbald, or Grimaldi, "was governor of the French navy at the very same time," by referring to various authorities, who state that he was a Genoese, that he commanded the sixteen galleys of Genoa hired by Philip of France, and that in 1304 he commanded three hundred and fifty galleys which were sent by Philip to the assistance of the Hollanders and Flemings. See the description of the sea-fight off Zieriksee in a subsequent page.

generally made and proclaimed by the King of England, in right of his dominion (according to the tenor of the third article of the league aforesaid, which contains the words above written), requiring that he may thereupon be acquitted and discharged of the same, to the great damage and prejudice of the said King of England, and of the prelates, and nobles, and others above mentioned.

"Wherefore the said procurators, in the names of their said lords, do pray your lordships auditors, that you would cause due and speedy deliverance of the said people with their goods and merchandises, so taken and detained, to be made to the admiral of the said King of England, to whom the cognisance of the same of right appertaineth, as is before expressed; so that, without disturbance from you or any other, he may take cognisance thereof and do what belonges to his office aforesaid; and the said Monsieur Reyner, be condemned and constrained to make satisfaction for all the said damages, so far forth as he shall be able, and, in his default, his said Lord the King of France, by whom he was deputed to the said office; and that, after satisfaction given for the said damages, the said Monsieur Reyner may be so duly punished for the violation of the said league, that his punishment may be an example to others in time to come."

The true character of this record is a question of so much importance, that a few words will be said on the subject. The internal evidence in favour of its genuineness consists in its being written in the hand of the time, in all the names and references mentioned in it agreeing with other undoubted statements, and in its being preserved among the records

of the kingdom. To this must be added the fact, that, on the 30th of June 1303, commissioners were appointed by the Kings of France and England to settle some disputes between the French monarch and the Count of Flanders, and that neither Selden, Lord Coke, nor Prynne entertained the slightest doubt of the authenticity of the record. On the other hand, the proceeding, like so many others, is not noticed by any French or English annalist; and even if the document be genuine, it certainly was not the original instrument, because the name of the English admiral is not mentioned, and because it has neither date nor seals. The probability, therefore, is, that it was merely the draught of an agreement or treaty, of the completion of which there is no evidence. But this document is, nevertheless, very remarkable, for it proves, that, whether conceded by other nations or not, the right of England to the sovereignty of the seas by which she is surrounded was supposed, in the thirteenth century, to be indisputable. Another document of unquestionable authenticity in which the right is expressly admitted, will be found in a subsequent part of this volume.

The colours or banner borne on board the King's ships was the same as in the reign of Henry the Third, namely, the Royal banner,—red with three gold lions, together, probably, with the banner of St. George.[a] In the army other banners were also used, namely, those of St. Edward the Confessor,—blue with a gold cross between five birds, technically called "martlets"; and St. Edmund's—blue, with three gold crowns, but there is no proof that either of them were borne in the navy.

[a] Vide, p. 87, *ante*.

That a ship of war or a King's ship was distinguished by the Royal banner, is proved by one having been sent on board of the vessel which was hired in 1290 to bring Margaret of Scotland to this country;[a] and it also appears that the King's ships then bore a pencell or streamer, the origin of that small but graceful symbol of loyalty, discipline, and power,—the modern Pendant.

[a] Vide, p. 292, *ante*.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD THE SECOND'S MARRIAGE AT BOULOGNE.—SHIPS SENT TO SCOTLAND. —COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE ROBBERIES OF FRENCH SHIPS.—THE KING GOES TWICE TO FRANCE.—REINFORCEMENTS SENT TO SCOTLAND.—ADMIRALS APPOINTED.—SCOTS INVADE IRELAND.—MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES. —SQUADRONS SENT AGAINST THE SCOTS.—TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND.—WAR RENEWED.—EXPEDITION TO REPEL THE INVASION OF GASCONY.—EXPECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES. —THE QUEEN AND PRINCE OF WALES LAND AT ORWELL.—DEPOSITION OF THE KING.

A. D. 1307. KING EDWARD THE SECOND had been affianced before his father's death to Isabel, the only daughter of Philip King of France, and he lost no time after his accession in claiming his bride. In November 1307, orders were issued to the warden of the Cinque Ports, to prepare for the King's passage to France;[a] to the sheriff of Kent, to furnish bridges and clays for vessels for that purpose; and to the mayor and sheriffs of London, to provide a good ship to convey his pavilions and tents.[b]

A. D. 1308. The King arrived at Dover about the 15th of January, and on the next day granted letters of protection to several sailors and other persons who were about to accompany him to Boulogne,[c] where great preparations were made for his marriage. Having appointed his favourite, Piers de Gaveston, custos or regent of the realm during his absence, and taken measures to

[a] Fœdera, II. 14, 15. [b] Ibid. p. 17. [c] Ibid. p. 27.

preserve his dominions from the aggressions of the Scots,[a] Edward sailed from Dover on the 22nd of January;[b] and on the 28th of that month his nuptials were celebrated at Boulogne, in a most splendid manner.[c] On the 7th of February the King and his consort, attended by Sir Hugh le Despencer, the Lord of Castellione, and several ladies, landed from his barge at Dover.[d] In July, ships were sent from Hartlepool and other ports, under the command of William le Betour, for the relief of Aberdeen;[e] and ten "good ships" were directed, on the 4th of October, to be sent by the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk, and ten other "good ships" from the ports between Yarmouth and Berwick, for the defence of that town against the Scots. Every ship was to have fifty strong and powerful men, well armed.[f] On the same day, and again in the following year, orders were sent to the keeper of the port of Dover not to allow any baron, knight, or other notable person to quit the realm without the King's license during the Scottish war.[g] A. D. 1308.

In 1309, troops were raised from all parts for the war in Scotland; and on the 26th of October, the mayor of Yarmouth was directed to provide two ships, with forty men in each, for the defence of Perth.[h] Many petitions having been presented to the King by English merchants, complaining of the depredations committed upon them at sea by the French, he appointed commissioners in 1308 or 1309 to investigate the matter, who were ordered to ascertain the names A. D. 1309.

[a] Fœdera, II. p. 22.
[b] Ibid. p. 29.
[c] Hemingford, I. 241; Fœdera, II. 31.
[d] "Applicuit apud Dover in bargia sua." Fœdera, II. 31.
[e] Rot. Scot. I. p. 55. Vide the APPENDIX.
[f] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. I. p. 58.
[g] Fœdera, II. 58, 95.
[h] Rot. Scot. I. 78.

A. D. 1309. of the ships and their masters, whence they came, the nature and quantities of their cargoes, the time they left their ports, the place where the depredation was committed, and whether done in sight of any persons who could prove it; whether the ship was plundered and carried off with the cargo, and, if so, where the ship was taken to.[a] If the mariners were imprisoned, the commissioners were to inquire how long they had been confined and by whom; and in what manner they were released, namely, by judgment or from compassion; to whose advantage the goods were converted, and if there were any other English merchants in port by whom the possession of the goods could be proved, and if the fact were generally known in England from their report. They were further to discover the names as well of the depredators, as of those in possession of the goods, whether the ship was robbed near the sea-coast within view of the people on shore, and whether it was at anchor or under sail. If the goods had been removed from that ship and put into another, they were to have the evidence of the sailors of such other ship, and to ascertain the names of the robbers, or at least of those who were in possession of the goods in the port.[b]

A. D. 1310. On the 18th of June 1310, two persons were deputed to choose[c] one hundred and forty of the stoutest and strongest mariners that could be found, from the port of London and other places, as far as Feversham, on both sides the Thames, as well within the liberties as without, and to have them before the council, at Westminster, by the end of that month, well furnished with arms, and ready to proceed in the King's ser-

[a] "Cepit ripam." [b] Rot. Parl. I. 277. [c] "Eligend'."

vice and pay to Scotland.[a] On the same day the King A. D. 1310.
appointed Sir John de Caunton captain and governor of his fleet of ships,[b] which from divers parts of the realm was about to proceed to St. John's town of Perth, for the munition of that place, and for the annoyance of his enemies in that country; and all masters and mariners of the said fleet were commanded to assist and obey him.[c] Letters were also sent to the authorities of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Shoreham, Dartmouth, and the other ports, stating that the King supposed they were aware that Robert Bruce, his traitor and enemy, had broken the truce, and was in arms, committing all kinds of ills; and informing them that he intended to proceed in person to Berwick on Tweed, with horses and arms, against his said enemies, and that he therefore required the aid of their navy.[d] Each port was consequently desired to provide one or more ships of war, well manned with people, and well stored with all necessaries, and to send them to Dublin by the 15th of August, ready to be conducted from thence to Scotland by Sir Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who was appointed captain and leader of the whole army, and also of his Irish subjects, who were going in his service to Scotland, to serve there against the enemy until Michaelmas, together with the other part of the navy of England, which he was sending there. The force raised by these letters consisted of fifty ships, of which Yarmouth furnished six, and Lynn four, the other large ports two, and the small ports one each.[e] Similar commands had been dispatched to the Cinque Ports; but on the 2nd of August the King

[a] Rot. Scot. I. p. 84.
[b] "Capitaneus et gubernator flotæ nostræ navium." Vide the APPENDIX.
[c] Fœdera, II. 108.
[d] "Vostre navie."
[e] Fœdera, II. p. 109.

A. D. 1310. ordered all those ships to proceed direct to Scotland,[a] because he had countermanded his orders to the Earl of Ulster. On the same day directions were issued for those ships to be sent to the Isle of Man, and to proceed from thence to Scotland, with the other ships of England, under Sir Simon de Montacute, whom the King had made admiral of his navy.[b] By his patent, which was dated on the 6th of August, Montacute was appointed "captain and governor of the King's fleet going to Scotland."[c]

Some of the ships destined for Scotland, with stores and provisions, having been attacked by many vessels[d] from the ports of Flanders, manned with outlaws, thieves, and pirates[e] belonging to the territories of the Count of Holland and Hainault, and pretending to be under the protection of the Count of Flanders, so that no English ships could sail in safety, except in large fleets and full of armed men, the Count was earnestly requested by the King, on the 9th of November, to suppress these aggressions.[f]

Intelligence having reached the King that Robert Bruce intended, during the winter, to send his whole force and fleet from the "foreign islands" to the Isle of Man, and to keep possession of it, for the purpose of victualling his ships there, the sheriffs of Cheshire, Lancashire, and other counties were ordered to assist the steward of the Bishop of Durham in equipping ships to go to Man and repel the attack.[g]

A. D. 1311. More ships being required for the Scottish war the ports were directed, in June 1311, to send eleven

[a] Fœdera, II. p. 114.
[b] "Qi nous avoms fait amirayl de notre navie." Rot. Scot. I. 92.
[c] Fœdera, II. p. 115.
[d] "Magno collecto navigio."
[e] "Predonibus et piratis."
[f] Fœdera, II. 118.
[g] Rot. Scot. I. 96; Fœdera, II. 122.

ships, namely, one, two, or three from each place, A. D. 1311.
manned with sailors and other strong and powerful men, well armed, and victualled for seven weeks, to Wolreckford, near Knockfergus, in Ulster, to proceed from thence against the King's enemies in Scotland, under the command of Sir John of Argyle, who had been appointed, on the 1st of that month, admiral and captain of the King's fleet on the coast of Argyle and in other parts of Scotland.[a]

The services of the admiral and sailors of this fleet were rewarded by their sovereign's approbation. On the 12th of October Edward addressed a letter to Sir John of Argyle, in which, after commending his zealous and faithful labours against the enemy in Scotland, the King returned him his special thanks, and promised, at a fitting opportunity, so to reward him that he would be perfectly satisfied. He then desired Argyle to continue to use the same exertions against the Scots as he had hitherto done, and informed him that his wish for the mariners and sailors to remain under his command during the ensuing winter, should be complied with; adding, that money and provisions would be sent to him by the treasurer of Ireland. On the same day the King wrote to "his beloved sailors and mariners of England and Ireland, under John of Argyle, then in his service," stating that the said John, their captain, had acquainted him, by his letters, that they had diligently served against the enemy in Scotland; and the King, therefore, returned them, and each of them, many thanks. He commanded them to continue their service under Argyle during the ensuing winter, to repulse the enemy,

[a] Rot. Scot. 1. 99.

A. D. 1311. and for the defence of those parts; and desired them manfully and zealously to obey Argyle as their captain, and thereby deserve his approbation. They were likewise told that money and provisions were ordered to be sent to them immediately.[a]

A. D. 1312. Disgusted with the wealth and honours lavished upon Peter de Gaveston, the royal favourite, and jealous of the influence which he had obtained over his sovereign, the barons, under the Earl of Lancaster, took arms in 1312, and pursued their King to the north. Edward, surprised by Lancaster's approach, fled from Newcastle to Tynemouth, where, insensible to the tears and entreaties of his pregnant Queen, and indifferent to the perils of the sea, he embarked with his minion in a small vessel, and proceeded to Scarborough.[b]

A. D. 1313. The state of affairs in Gascony made it desirable, in 1313, that a personal interview should take place between the Kings of England and France; and, in May, bridges and clays were ordered to be provided for the ships for Edward's passage.[c] The King sailed from Dover, accompanied by the Queen and a large suite, on the 23rd of May;[d] and having satisfactorily concluded his negotiations about Gascony with the French monarch, by whom he was received with great honour, he landed at Sandwich on the 16th of July.[e]

While Edward was in France an embargo was laid upon all Flemish shipping, goods, and subjects in the

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 107. Vide the APPENDIX.

[b] Trokelow, 15; Walsingham, ed. 1574, p. 75.

[c] Fœdera, II. 212. [d] Ibid. 317.

[e] Ibid. p. 322. Vita Edwardi II., a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi, ap. Hearne, p. 135.

port of London, in consequence, apparently, of the attempt which was made, in 1310, to obtain redress for the aggressions committed upon English vessels having failed.[a] On the 26th of July thirty of the largest and best ships, well manned with foot-soldiers, were ordered to be provided by the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk, thirty by the ports between Plymouth and Shoreham, and an indefinite number by other towns. All these vessels were placed under the command of Sir William de Montacute.[b] The King again sailed from Dover for Boulogne on the 12th of December, to perform a pilgrimage, and landed at Sandwich on the 20th of the same month.[c] A. D. 1313.

Reinforcements being required for the army in Scotland, vessels were obtained for the purpose of conveying them; and, on the 12th of March 1314, the King's two valets, John Sturmy and Peter Bard, were appointed, jointly and severally, captains and admirals of his fleet, as well of the King's own ships as of others of the northern parts, which were going to Scotland in his service; and full power was given to both, or either of them, to chastise and punish offenders in the said fleet, as belonged to the office of captain and admiral of such fleet.[d] On the same day all civil authorities were commanded to assist John Sturmy, master of the King's ship the "Christopher of Westminster," and the masters of the King's other ships, the "Isabel" (so named, probably, after the Queen), the "Blessed Mary," the "St. Michael," and the "Leonard of Westminster," going to Scotland against A. D. 1314.

[a] Fœdera, II. 210, 219.
[b] Ibid. p. 223.
[c] Ibid. p. 238.
[d] Rot. Scot. I. 115b. Vide the APPENDIX.

A. D. 1314. the King's enemies and rebels, in selecting mariners and other fighting men for those ships.[a] Similar power was given on the 18th of the same month to the masters of twenty-one others of the King's ships, one cog, and of one barge.[b] A demand was likewise made for shipping from all the ports for the Scottish war; and persons were sent to arrest and take the best ships, and to select the ablest sailors and fighting men[c] to go in them. These vessels were to be despatched to Aberconway, at which place they were to assemble by the ensuing Whitsuntide, at the King's wages, and to proceed thence with his fleet against the Scots.[d]

Sir John of Argyle was again appointed "Captain and Admiral of all the King's fleet, in the isles of Scotland and Argyle," on the 25th of March.[e] This squadron was sent to Ireland to embark four thousand foot-soldiers, and to convey them to Scotland; and other shipping for the passage of the Earl of Ulster was to be taken in the Irish ports.[f] On the 1st of April the Cinque Ports were commanded to send all their service to Berwick by the 24th of June;[g] and, on the 28th of April, vessels were directed to be sent to Aberconway, from Bristol and other places, and to go from thence to Ireland with Argyle and the King's fleet,[h] for which purpose ships were arrested, and sailors impressed in numerous sea-ports.[i] The defeat of the English army at Bannockburn, on the 14th of June, rendered a large reinforcement of troops abso-

[a] "Potestas eligendi . . . homines marinarios et alios defensabiles et ad arma potentes." Ibid. p. 116.
[b] Ibid. p. 116.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Ibid. p. 117.
[e] Ibid. p. 121.
[f] Ibid. p. 122.
[g] Fœdera, II. 246.
[h] Rot. Scot. I. 125.
[i] Ibid. p. 126.

lutely necessary; and, on the 25th of July, a "naval subsidy"[a] was demanded from all the ports, to the number of thirty ships, well manned and armed, which were immediately to go to Kingston upon Hull.[b] A. D. 1314.

On the 15th of March 1315, a new commission was issued to Sir John of Argyle, which recited the confidence the King placed in his prudence and valour, and appointed him "captain of his fleet of ships which he was about to send to subdue his enemies and rebels in Scotland, and in the isles of Argyle;" and William de Creye and Thomas de Hewys, admirals of the fleet of the King's ships in Scotland, and the masters and mariners thereof, were commanded to obey Argyle as captain of the said fleet.[c] On the same day, John Lord Botetourt was constituted admiral and captain of the King's sailors and mariners of all the ports and places at which ships or boats touch, from the mouth of the Thames to the eastward as far as Berwick on Tweed, and also of the soldiers and others who were about to accompany him in the fleet to the coast of Scotland. Authority was given to the said admiral and captain, and to such persons as he might appoint by his letters-patent, to take and carry with him able and powerful men-at-arms, ships, barges, and boats, provisions, armour, and all other things necessary for the expedition, making reasonable satisfaction to those from whom the articles were taken, and finding security to restore the armour to the owners.[d] A. D. 1315.

Among other measures for resisting the Scots, a proclamation was issued, prohibiting, under the heaviest

[a] "Navali subsidio plurimum indigemus."
[b] Rot. Scot. i. 129.
[c] Ibid. p. 139.
[d] Ibid. p. 139. Vide the APPENDIX.

A. D. 1315. penalties, all merchants, mariners, and others to send or carry provisions, arms, iron, steel, or any other article whatever to the Scots.[a]

One hundred foot-soldiers and sailors were ordered to be levied in Norfolk, and sent with their arms in the King's ship, the "Christopher of Yarmouth," belonging to Lord Botetourt's fleet.[b] The King having heard that thirteen large Scottish cogs were at Sluys, loading with arms and provisions for his enemies in Scotland, he commanded Botetourt, on the 27th of March, to take with him the men of Yarmouth and seize those ships or cogs, if they had left Flanders.[c] Towards the end of May, four of the largest and best ships, with sailors and other armed men, were impressed at Shoreham and Seaford, and fourteen ships at Bristol, for the Scottish war, each of which vessels had double the usual number of men, termed a "double shipment."[d]

Early in this year Robert Bruce landed with a large army at Carrickfergus, with the view of enabling the native Irish to establish their independence of England, which obliged the King to countermand the orders he had given to the Earl of Ulster to proceed with reinforcements to Scotland; and also to send troops and ships to Ireland.

On the 29th of May William de Creye was appointed "captain and admiral of the King's fleet of the Cinque Ports on the western coast of England, and on the coasts of Ireland and Wales;" and all the masters and mariners of those ships were enjoined to

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 140.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Fœdera, II. 265.
[d] "Ita quod quælibet navium prædictarum dupplici skipiamento hominum muniatur." Rot. Scot. I. 143, 144.

obey him as admiral and captain of the King's said fleet. On the same occasion Sir John of Argyle was made captain of the mariners of the fleet of the Cinque Ports.[a] Enough large ships for the expedition having been obtained, the sheriffs of Surrey, Cornwall, and three other counties were directed, on the 4th of June, to release those which they had been ordered to arrest.[b] Early in July, John de Athy was made captain and leader of eleven ships[c] of Bristol going to Scotland; and he and the crews were enjoined to be obedient to William de Creye, who had been lately appointed chief admiral[d] of the western fleet in Scotland.[e] On the 4th of that month three persons were ordered to survey the shipping in the ports on the coast eastward of the Thames destined for Scotland; and two others were directed to survey all the shipping on the western coast, and to ascertain whether the ships were perfectly ready for service. If they found any defects, they were to inquire who was responsible for them, and to report how they could be supplied.[f] A proclamation was directed on the 12th of August to be made in all the sea-ports rescinding the order against the exportation of provisions, and commanding merchants to send victuals and other necessaries to the north for the army under the Earl of Lancaster; but they were to give security that those articles should not reach the King's enemies the Scots, or his other rebels.[g] A. D. 1315.

The French monarch having requested the assistance

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 144.
[b] Fœdera, II. 269.
[c] "Capitaneum et ductorem undecim navium villæ nostræ Bristoll et partium adjacentium."
[d] "Capitalem admirallum."
[e] Rot. Scot. I. 146. Vide the APPENDIX.
[f] Ibid. 146, 147.
[g] Ibid. I. 149.

A. D. 1315. of the English navy against the Count of Flanders, Edward wrote a very courteous letter to him on the 18th of September, expressing his desire to comply with his wishes, and thus proceeded:—"But, dear brother, you well know how we have been pressed by our enemies the Scots; and since then they have entered Ireland, and committed arsons, robberies, and all the other evils of war they could: in consequence of which, and before your war in Flanders began, we and our council determined to send all the navy we could to Ireland, and also to the east, to harass our said enemies." Edward therefore prayed to be excused; but he added, that directions had been given to his admirals to injure Louis' enemies as much as possible, and that he had also strictly commanded Sir Humphrey de Littlebury and Sir John Sturmy, who had been appointed admirals in chief of one part of the navy, for the purpose of injuring the enemy and guarding the sea-coast, to go with their ships against the French King's enemies in the manner he might point out, and to harass them with all their might, as if they were Edward's own enemies.[a] In November another letter was written to Louis complaining that twenty-two ships belonging to Calais had attacked four ships laden with wool and other merchandise off Margate on their passage from London to Antwerp, slain some and cruelly wounded others of their crews; and that they had taken one of those vessels, of the value of 2000 marks sterling, to Calais, and refused to give her up. The King, therefore, demanded that ample satisfaction should be made to the English merchants, and justice rendered for the aggression.[b]

[a] Fœdera, II. 227. [b] Ibid. II. 279, 280.

Some piratical vessels having appeared off the coast A.D. 1316.
of Berwick, six ships were sent after them, under the command of Sir John Sturmy and William Gettour, who were appointed "captains and admirals" of that squadron on the 6th of November, with orders to defend Berwick by every means in their power.[a]

About that time several Spanish ships, laden with arms and provisions for the Flemings, were seized by the constable of Dover Castle; and, as soon as the fact became known to the King of France, he wrote to Edward, requesting him to retain the ships, they being forfeited to him, and to keep their crews as his "serfs and slaves." In reply, Edward said, that, being entirely ignorant of the transaction, he had ordered inquiry to be made, and that, as soon as he received information on the subject, he would do what might be agreeable to Louis.[b]

Sir John Sturmy and Gettour were severely reprimanded, in March 1316, for neglect of duty. Instead of proceeding against the Scots and pirates, they had, as the King was informed, done nothing but anchor at Kirkley and other ports, and allowed the crews of the six ships under their command to plunder and commit other aggressions upon the inhabitants of those places, and had in no way punished the offenders as they ought to have done, whereat, the King said, "we are justly displeased." They were then informed that a naval subsidy[c] was required for the defence of Berwick, and were commanded to go there with their ships without delay.[d]

It having been represented to the King by the con-

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 151
[b] Fœdera, II. 281.
[c] "Navali subsidio."
[d] Rot. Scot. I. 154.

A. D. 1316. stable of France that the keepers of the ports had permitted goods and provisions to be conveyed to and from Flanders and England, Edward replied, on the 19th of March, that he was surprised to hear it, the fact being very improbable, because the Flemings had lately attacked and captured some English ships at sea, and killed their crews. If, however, any fault existed, it should, he said, be remedied, and the transgressors punished.[a]

On the 18th of May, the seneschal of Gascony was ordered to seize all goods and merchandise belonging to the subjects of the King of Castile in Gascony, to the value of one hundred and sixty-five marks, until that sum was paid, as compensation for losses incurred by the subjects of England in the preceding reign, when various disputes had existed between the people of Bayonne and Castile, and which had led to the seizure of several Castilian ships at Sandwich.[b]

In consequence of the scarcity of corn and other provisions in England in the latter part of 1315 or early in 1316, the King sent for those commodities to foreign countries, and therefore took the merchants of Sicily, Spain, and Genoa under his protection. A large Genoese ship, "commonly called a dromond," arrived in the Downs laden with corn, oil, honey, and other goods for his use; and while lying there, one Berenger Bauck, the keeper[c] of certain ships from Calais belonging to the King of France, seized that vessel, and took her to Calais, after wounding and ill-treating the merchants and crew on board of her. Edward immediately claimed the ship from the French King, and requested that she might be brought back to

[a] Fœdera, II. 288. [b] Ibid. p. 290. [c] "Custos."

the Downs; but before an answer could be received, A. D. 1316.
Louis died.[a] It was afterwards agreed that persons should be sent on both sides to Whitsand to investigate the matter; but none having arrived at the place to meet the English commissioners, the French council were requested, on the 16th of July, to restore the said ship with her cargo.[b] As no redress could be obtained, the complaint was renewed in December, in a letter from Edward to Philip the Fifth, and again five years afterwards.[c]

At the request of a burgess of Kingston-upon-Hull, called Bedeford, the King wrote to Haco, King of Norway, complaining that his ship had been seized at Selag by a Norwegian knight of the name of Aslaci, and requested that she might be released; but Haco replied, with every assurance of friendship and goodwill, that the vessel had been arrested in reprisal for the seizure and detention, three years before, of his ship called "Rankic," with her cargo of the value of 300*l*., by the said Bedeford and his accomplices of Lynn; and that, as his complaints in the English courts of justice had not been attended to, Haco had permitted Aslaci to make reprisals by arresting the English ship.[d]

On the 3rd of November all mariners and others on the sea-coast between Lancaster and Carlisle were enjoined to obey Sir Robert de Leybourne, who was proceeding with their ships against the Scots.[e] Towards the end of the year a large army was raised to be sent

[a] Louis the Tenth died on the 5th of June 1316.
[b] Fœd. I. 292. [c] Ib. II. 350, 455.
[d] Ibid. p. 293. Hakluyt has printed three letters from Edward the Second to the King of Norway on a similar occasion, and which are reprinted in Entick's "New Naval History," folio, 1757, pp. 5, 94, 95.
[e] Rot. Scot. I. 166.

A. D. 1316. to Ireland under Roger Lord Mortimer of Wigmore; and numerous ships being necessary for its passage, Sir Nicholas Kyriel was appointed, on the 9th of December, admiral of the King's fleet from the mouth of the Thames, as well of the Cinque, as of all other ports on the coast, to the westward;[a] and on the 20th of that month Bristol and the adjacent ports were ordered to send twenty large ships to Haverford West by the 2nd of February following.[b]

A. D. 1317. The first naval proceeding in 1317 was rather remarkable. Galleys being required for the Scottish war, the King sent a Genoese merchant to obtain from that city five fighting galleys[c] at the King's expense, with men-at-arms, armour, provisions, and all other necessaries; and on the 31st of January a letter was written to the authorities there, requesting them to assist him in his mission.[d] In May, John Perbroun of Yarmouth was appointed admiral of the King's fleet northwards, and Sir Robert Leybourne admiral of the fleet westward of the Thames;[e] and in July John de Athy, custos of Man, was ordered to provide three ships, well manned, stored, and armed, for the defence of that island against the Scots.[f] On the 6th of August all the sea-ports were directed to send their ships for the expedition against Robert Bruce under John de Athy, captain and admiral of the King's fleet against the Scots,[g] which vessels were to be at Dublin early in September.[h] In November the keeper of the Cinque Ports was forbidden

[a] Rot. Patent. 10 Ed. II. pt. 1.
[b] Fœdera, II. 305.
[c] "Quinque galeas defensabiles."
[d] Fœdera, II. 313.
[e] Vide the APPENDIX.
[f] Rot. Scot. 1. 173.
[g] Rot. Patent. 11 Edw. II. m. 4.
[h] Rot. Scot. 1. 174.

to permit any noble or other eminent person to quit the realm without the King's license.[a]

On the 24th of April 1318, William Gettour was appointed captain and leader of the King's fleet[b] about to proceed to Berwick and to other northern parts to serve against the Scots,[c] whence it appears that Sir John Sturmy was no longer associated with him in that office. The inhabitants of Berwick were directed to repair and fit out their barge at the King's expense, and send it to Gettour's fleet;[d] but the town was soon after taken by the Scots. A large army was ordered to be raised in August for the war in Scotland, and the town of Yarmouth was commanded to provide six, and Lynn two ships, with "double shipping," for that expedition. In November three of the ships under Gettour, that had been detained in the north until the 8th of that month, were permitted to return to Yarmouth; and the inhabitants were specially thanked by the King for the use of them.[e] About this time an unfortunate ship, while on her passage from Flanders to Scotland, was driven by a storm into Cliffe, at the mouth of the Thames, and, as the crew refused to surrender, or, to use the words of the record, "refused to submit themselves to the King's peace," they were put to death by the inhabitants of that town. For this service the King rewarded them with the whole cargo, worth 28*l.* 10*s.*; but the ship and rigging, which was valued at ten marks, were reserved for the King's use."[f] A. D. 1318.

[a] Fœdera, II. 347.
[b] "Capitaneum et ductorem flotæ nostræ navium."
[c] Rot. Scot. I. 181.
[d] Ibid. p. 184.
[e] Ibid. 189.
[f] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 12 Edw. II. p. 243.

A. D. 1319. On the 20th of March 1319, measures were adopted for raising a naval subsidy for another expedition against the Scots, to prevent arms and stores being sent to the rebels, and to protect foreign merchants trading with this country. Commissioners were appointed to obtain from the cities and towns, ships with double crews, well armed and victualled, at the expense of the respective places for three or four months, and after that time at the King's wages.[a] The barons of the Cinque Ports were directed to guard the southern coast in so effectual a manner, that no stores should be sent to the Scots, and that all foreign merchants and others might enter or leave the realm with their goods without injury from the enemy.[b] A squadron was ordered to cruize off the southern coast of England, of which Simon de Dryby, William de Thewell, and Robert Ashman, two or one of them, were appointed admirals and captains or admiral and captain on the 23rd of May,[c] and John de Athy was made admiral of the King's western fleet.[d] The inhabitants of South Yarmouth having lent the King two ships called the "Bennet" and the "Garland" for the war in Scotland, they were thanked for them, and were ordered to man and equip those vessels immediately. Such persons as possessed arms and were not going in those ships were to lend them to those who had none, and were about to serve; and similar orders were sent to Great Yarmouth, Ipswich, Dunwich, and Orford.[e] Numerous letters of protection were issued on the 24th of June to the masters,

[a] Rot. Scot 1. 192. [b] Ibid. p. 193. [d] Rot. Patent. 12 Edw. II. m. 29.
[c] Ibid. p. 194. Vide the APPENDIX. [e] Rot. Scot. 1. 195.

constables, and mariners of ships; whence it appears, A. D. 1319.
that, besides the master, those vessels had one or two constables, and from thirty-nine to fifty-four men each. Robert Ashman, whose appointment as one of the admirals of the southern squadron has just been mentioned, is described in the protection granted to him as "admiral of the ship called the 'Michael of Great Yarmouth.'"[a] On the 12th of August Simon de Dryby was made admiral and captain of the King's fleet in Scotland.[b] About 1319 the sheriff of Devon was directed to provide five good ships well stored, and having a double shipment of men, and to deliver them to Thomas de Newbigging, to be conducted to John de Athy, admiral of the King's ships in Ireland, for the annoyance of the Scots, and especially for the defence of the castle of Carrickfergus, in Ulster; but, as money was necessary for this purpose, the King requested the abbot of Tavistock to lend 400*l.* upon security of the King's mine in Devonshire.[c]

The war which had so long devastated Scotland A. D. 1320.
and consumed the resources of England was suspended, in January 1320, by a truce for two years.[d] Edward soon after determined to visit the King of France; but though Philip sent him letters of safe conduct in April,[e] he did not leave England until June, on the 19th of which month he wrote to the keepers of the Great Seal, informing them that he had then put to sea.[f] After remaining abroad about a month, the King landed at Dover on the 22nd of July, "well and joyful."[g] Measures were taken, on

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 199, 201.
[b] Ibid. 202.
[c] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 12 Edw. II. p. 248 b.
[d] Fœdera, II. 412.
[e] Ibid. 421.
[f] Ibid. 428.
[g] "Seines et hettez." Ibid.

the 20th of that month, for guarding the ports and sea-coasts adjacent to London.[a]

A. D. 1321. It appears that the King entrusted the custody of the Cinque Ports and their fleet, in 1321, to his new favourite, Sir Hugh le Despenser; for when the Earl of Lancaster demanded that both the Despensers should be banished the realm, Edward replied that the elder Despenser was employed in his service abroad, and that the younger was on the sea for the protection of the Cinque Ports, as he was bound to do by his office.[b] According to Knyghton, the Despensers seized everything they met with at sea; and, among other depredations, they carried off two large ships called "dromons,"[c] laden with merchandize worth 40,000 marks, the crews of which they sent prisoners to England, by the King's advice.[d] The only other occurrence of a naval description in 1321 was a treaty for settling a quarrel between the mariners of England and those of Brittany. It was agreed, in August in that year, that there should be a truce between the merchants, mariners, and subjects of both states until November 1322; and that two persons should be appointed on each side to investigate all the causes of dispute, with power to compel the offenders to submit to their decision.[e] This truce was afterwards prolonged for two years.[f] About the same time the King resolved to put an end to the dissensions that existed between the barons of the Cinque Ports and the mariners of Poole, Weymouth, Lyme, and Southampton, which had led to murders,

[a] Rot. Patent. 19 Edw. II. m. 29.
[b] Walsingham, p. 92.
[c] "Duas magnas naves quas dromundes vocamus."
[d] Knyghton, col. 2539.
[e] Fœdera, II. 456.
[f] Ibid. p. 498.

robberies, and burning of ships, by ordering the keeper A. D. 1321.
of the Cinque Ports to issue a proclamation forbidding, under severe penalties, any man to injure the mariners or other persons of the said towns, their ships or property, by land or by sea. He was also to send six of the barons with authority to make their complaint against those mariners before the King in council at Westminster, and they were to submit to its decision on the subject.

The truce with Scotland having expired, the Scots A. D. 1322.
entered Northumberland, intending to join the Earl of Lancaster and the other English rebels; but Lancaster was taken prisoner and beheaded in March. As many of his adherents were lurking under various disguises in different parts of the realm, orders were sent, on the 22nd of that month, to the Earl of Kent, constable of Devon and warden of the Cinque Ports, not to permit any one of whom he had not full knowledge to leave the kingdom; and if any of these rebels came within his jurisdiction, they were to be immediately arrested.[a]

On the 20th of April the King acquainted the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth and other places, as well as the barons of the Cinque Ports, that having been informed that the Flemings and others had collected a large naval power on the coast of England, and had attacked and injured the persons and property of his subjects, and would probably avail themselves of his absence in the wars of Scotland to commit further aggressions, he commanded them to resist these proceedings by raising a naval subsidy, arming men, and by all other means in their power; adding, in

[a] Fœdera, II. 478.

A. D. 1322. his mandate to the Cinque Ports, that he had written to the Count of Flanders requesting him to prevent his subjects from committing such offences, and that he would communicate to them the Count's answer.[a] On the 19th of May 1322, and again in the spring of the ensuing year, Robert Battayle was appointed captain and admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, and John Perbroun captain and admiral of the northern fleet.[b]

Edward invaded Scotland with an immense army; and on the 20th of May authority was given to Sir Robert Leybourne, whom the King had constituted "captain and admiral of a fleet of many ships from various parts of the realm, and from Ireland and Wales, serving against the Scots in the western sea," to receive the submission of any person belonging to Scotland or to the adjacent isles. Orders were issued at the same time to all the King's subjects to aid, advise, and obey Leybourne,[c] including Master Walter Islep, the treasurer of Ireland. Sir John Bermingham, Earl of Lowth, the justiciary of Ireland, was also directed to assist and advise Leybourne, but it is expressly said that he was not commanded to obey him.[d] All the Irish ships were likewise placed under his orders; and John de Athy, late captain and admiral of some ships in the western sea, was desired to transfer to Leybourne all the ships, barges, and other things under his charge. If, however, any ships were protecting the castle of Carrickfergus, and they were still required there for that service, Athy was empowered to

[a] Fœdera, II. 484, 485.

[b] Rot. Patent. 15 Edw. II. m. 13, 15; and Patent. 16 Edw. II. m. 11, 18.

[c] "Intendentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes."

[d] "Excepto quod non ponitur *intendendo*."

retain them.[a] For this expedition the inhabitants of A. D. 1322.
the town of Ravensrode offered to furnish one ship, with thirty men, well armed and stored, at their cost for six weeks. The King thanked them, and requested that the ship might be sent to Tynemouth by the 24th of July.[b] The number of ships employed in Scotland appears to have been twenty-six, eleven of which, called the "Blithe," the "Squynkyn," the "Rose," the "Godale," the "Eleanor," the "Magdalene," a second "Blithe," the "Katherine," the "James," and the "Nicholas," and the cog "John," carrying from seven to eighty-two men, belonged to the King; and the remaining fifteen ships had been furnished by the ports.[c]

The first nautical occurrence in 1323 shows that a A. D 1323.
trade existed between Venice and this country. Two Venetian galleys had arrived at Southampton laden with merchandise, when a quarrel arose between the "patrons, merchants, masters, and sailors" of those vessels, and the people, servants, free-tenants, and others of Sir John de Lisle, in which affray several were killed on both sides, and some of his property and that of his retainers carried off or lost, for which they had, it is said, a right of action for felony and trespass. The claim was, however, settled by the Venetian merchants paying De Lisle a sum of money; and on the 10th of April 1323 he formally released the commonalty of the city of Venice, and every merchant and inhabitant thereof, from all kinds of action or suit, as well for himself as for his retainers.[d] In

[a] Fœdera, II. 485.
[b] Rot. Claus. 15 Edw. II. m. 7. d.
[c] Wardrobe Accounts, 17 Edw. II.; Archæologia, vol. vi. p. 197.
[d] Fœdera, II. 514.

A. D. 1323. March in the following year the King, with the consent of parliament, pardoned the Venetians all their transgressions.[a]

On the 17th of April the Cinque Ports were ordered to send their whole service of fifty-seven ships to Dalkey, near Dublin, by the 1st of June, to convey horse and foot-soldiers and provisions from thence to Skinburness, and afterwards to serve against the Scots; but the King, being willing to spare them as much as possible, would, he said, only require twenty-seven ships on that occasion, provided, however, that the same number of sailors and other fighting men were sent in those vessels, as would have been sent in the fifty-seven to which the Crown was entitled.[b] Robert Battayle, a baron of the Cinque Ports, was again appointed captain and admiral of their fleet;[c] and the town of Yarmouth furnished twenty ships for that expedition.[d] The war was, however, terminated on the 30th of May, by a truce for thirteen years between England and Scotland.[e]

A. D. 1324. Some malefactors, subjects of the Count of Zealand, having attacked many English vessels at sea, whereby much property was taken and several lives lost, the King ordered the bailiffs of the Bishop of Norwich, in January 1324, to seize all ships belonging to the count's dominions in the ports under their jurisdiction, and to keep them until farther orders, but not to distrain upon their cargoes.[f]

Charles le Bel succeeded to the Crown of France in 1322, and soon after shewed a determination to

[a] Fœdera, II. 546.
[b] Ibid. p. 516.
[c] Rot. Patent. 16 Edw. II.
[d] Rot. Claus. 16 Edw. II. m. 12.
[e] Fœdera, II. 521.
[f] Ibid. p. 544.

force England into a war. He entered Guienne with an army in the following year, on the pretence that Edward had not attended him at his coronation and done homage for that duchy. As he refused to listen to every proposition for preventing hostilities, it became necessary to send a large force to Gascony. On the 10th of May 1324, Southampton, Portsmouth, Yarmouth, Poole, and nine other places, were commanded to furnish from one to six ships each, well manned and stored, and to send them to Portsmouth by the 22nd of that month, to convey, at the King's wages, men-at-arms with their horses, and other soldiers, to Guienne. A return of the names of the ships and of their masters, under the seal of the city or town, was to be transmitted to the King. Bridges and clays for shipping men and horses were to be provided by the sheriff of Southampton, and were to be forwarded to Portsmouth by the said day. A. D. 1324.

By another mandate, also issued on the 10th of May, and addressed to the authorities of every port in England and Wales, and to the justiciary of Ireland, those officers were enjoined to have every ship capable of carrying forty tons of wine and upwards, equipped and ready for the King's service at three days' notice. They were strictly prohibited from allowing any vessels to go abroad, and were directed to detain such as were then at sea on their return, and to have them ready with the others. A report was to be made of the number of the ships in their respective ports, as well as of those belonging thereto that were away. All sailors then absent were to be warned to proceed with such caution on their voyage as not to fall into

A. D. 1324. the hands of their adversaries, pirates, or others, nor to incur any danger.[a]

In consequence of the masters and crews of some ships which the ports of Lyme, Weymouth, and Poole had been ordered to send to Plymouth by the middle of June, having quitted those places in contempt of the King's commands, other large ships were directed to be equipped and dispatched to Plymouth, to supply the deficiency.[b] A priest was sent to that port to survey the ships, and to see that they were properly manned and furnished with stores,[c] whose instructions will be again noticed.

On the 16th of July the King appointed Sir John de Cromwell admiral of the sea-coast, and captain of his sailors and mariners in his service[d] proceeding to Gascony; and on the 22nd of the same month the authorities of all the ports in the realm were informed that the King of France had assembled a large army to invade the Duchy of Aquitaine, and to make war against the King as well by land as by sea, that he had appointed admirals and pirates on the sea for that purpose, and had "congregated no small fleet, and a multitude of ships."[e] The King therefore commanded them, without delay, to equip and arm every ship in their ports for war, and to recall such as were absent; and with all their might to attack and destroy the ships belonging to the King of France, except those of Flanders, before he had formed too

[a] Fœdera, II. 552.

[b] Rot. Claus. 17 Edw. II. m. 6. d.

[c] Rot. Patent. 17 Edw. II.

[d] "Admirallum maritimæ et capitaneum nautarum et marinariorum nostrorum." Fœdera, II. 562.

[e] "Admirallos et piratas super mare constituendo, et non modicam classem et multitudinem navium congregando."

large a fleet, so that the French, being the original authors of the evil, might first feel its effects, and the English escape their malice. They were also to keep faithful spies upon the French by day and night, to prevent being surprised, the King having been informed that numerous ships of war[a] were preparing in the ports of Normandy, and that many of them were quite ready and armed. The English mariners were then enjoined to forget all discord among themselves, and with those of Bayonne and other places, and to unite in harassing the subjects of the King of France, as well sailors as others, in the same manner as they endeavoured to harass them. They were to send the King intelligence from time to time, and were specially ordered not to molest any merchants voyaging by sea, except those of France.[b] Early in August keepers were appointed to all the ports:[c] on the 5th of that month Sir Robert Beudyn was made admiral of the King's western fleet;[d] and on the 24th the King took into his protection all Spanish merchants, sailors, and others, with their ships and goods, coming to England.[e] A. D. 1324.

Two gallies belonging to Majorca having been captured by some English adventurers, or pirates, described as "malefactors," the circumstance produced a long correspondence, which is curious, from the information it affords about letters of marque and reprisals. Sancho, King of the Majorcas, sent an envoy to England to obtain reparation, but not succeeding, he dispatched Peter Jacobi to Edward with letters, repeating the demand, to which he replied on the 18th of September. After ac-

[a] "Naves de guerra."
[b] Fœdera, II. 562. [c] Ibid. p. 564.
[d] Issue Roll 18 Edw. II.
[e] Ibid. p. 567.

A. D. 1324. knowledging the receipt of "his Sincerity's" communications, the King said he had already signified his readiness to render full justice in the affair, according to the laws of this realm; that, though the complainants had failed to prosecute their complaint and would not give the names of the "malefactors," he had nevertheless appointed justiciaries to investigate the subject,[a] but that the inquiry was not yet concluded, and Jacobi would remain in England until it was finished. "James, King of Arragon, Valentia, Sardinia, and Corsica, Count of Barchin, Standard-bearer, Admiral and Captain General of the Holy Roman Church," likewise wrote to the King to the same purport. It appears from Edward's answer that the King of Arragon had informed him, that, if any of his subjects were accused of robberies at sea, a certificate of the fact would, at the suit of the aggrieved, be received in his court, and that, if the robbery were proved, the value of the property stolen would be considered to be sufficiently established by the oath of the losers; that he should require compensation from the lords of the robbers, or, in other words, from the sovereign of the country to which they belonged, and if they did not comply, that he would then grant letters of reprisals to his subjects, whereby the injured parties might obtain satisfaction.[b] After reciting this part of the King of Arragon's letter, Edward stated what had been done by him, in the same terms as in his letter to the King of the Majorcas, and proceeded to ac-

[a] The appointment of those justices is on the Patent Roll of the 16 Edw. II. pt. II. m. 25. d.

[b] The original words are very remarkable, and scarcely admit of a literal translation: "Et si fecerit tunc subditis vestris licentiam pignorandi conceditis et alia aminicula perquiritis per quæ satisfieri poterit vestris subditis disrobbatis."

quaint his "Magnificence" that the system in James' court did not prevail in England, nor between that country and the neighbouring states, where letters of reprisals were only granted when justice, having been regularly demanded, could not be obtained.[a] Edward added, that he could not lawfully do anything against the laws and customs of his realm, to the prejudice of his subjects; nor could any other prince do so.[b] A. D. 1324.

The fear of invasion by the French in September caused most of the counties to be taken into the King's hands;[c] and orders were issued to arrest every Frenchman in England, and to seize their goods, as had, it was said, been done by Edward the First under similar circumstances.[d]

On the 1st of October the inhabitants of Lynn and Norwich were informed that the French monarch was collecting an immense fleet from Zealand, Calais, Normandy, and other places, and intended in a few days to land in Norfolk; they were, therefore, commanded, in case those ships approached their shore, to make every exertion to attack and capture them; and they were enjoined to aid and assist Sir Robert de Montalt and Sir Thomas Bardolf, the keepers of the sea-coast in that county, to the utmost of their power.[e] The mayor and aldermen of London were commanded to prepare all the ships, small as well as large, belonging to the city, which were adapted for war, to man and

[a] "Sed solum pro defectu justitiæ dominorum sufficienter requisitorum, et non curantium vicinorum derobbatis, in querelis suis justitiam exhibere conceduntur pignorationes fieri et teneri."

[b] Fœdera, II. 568. Two other letters from the King of England to the King of Arragon on the same subject, but containing nothing of importance, one on the 18th of February, and the other on the 10th of September 1325, are in the Fœdera, II. 590, 608.

[c] Fœdera, II. 569.

[d] Ibid. p. 570.

[e] Ibid. p. 573.

A. D. 1324. arm them with double shipping, and to send them when so equipped to Winchelsea.[a]

The Pope having sent ambassadors to England to negotiate a peace with France, orders were issued on the 12th of November to the warden of the Cinque Ports for suspending hostilities against the French at sea,[b] but great precautions were nevertheless taken against Charles's designs. On the 1st of December the authorities of most of the sea-ports were told that, notwithstanding the King's orders, many letters, prejudicial to his interests, had been brought into England from abroad; and they were commanded to search carefully all who arrived, and to cause suspicious letters and their bearers to be arrested, keeping such persons in custody and sending the letters instantly to the King wherever he might be.[c] Towards the end of 1324 Sir John Sturmy was again made admiral of the King's northern fleet;[d] and on the 28th of September Stephen Alard was appointed captain and admiral of the King's fleet westward of the Thames, including the Cinque Ports, until the return of Sir Robert Beudyn, who was going to Guienne.[e]

A. D. 1325. A great council was summoned to meet in Lent 1325, to take into consideration the King's expedition to Gascony to resist the French.[f] On the 8th of February, however, all French subjects who had been arrested were released and permitted to return home, and an allowance was made to them for their expenses, because the King of France had liberated

[a] Rot. Vascon. 18 Edw. II. m. 25, 29.
[b] Fœdera, II. 578.
[c] Ib. 582.
[d] Rot. Patent, 18 Edw. II. m. 2.
[e] Parliamentary Writs, II. 430.
[f] Fœdera, II. 584.

those of England.[a] The council which had been ordered to meet in Lent was on the 20th of February postponed to the 17th of May, there not having been time to make the necessary preparations for the expedition to Guienne.[b] A. D. 1325

On the 26th of February, all merchants and mariners of Venice coming into the realm to trade were declared to be under the King's protection.[c] Edward's desire for peace induced him to allow his consort to proceed to France, hoping that through her influence with her brother he might be persuaded to agree to terms. Isabella landed at Boulogne in March, and the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester, and the Earl of Richmond, were appointed ambassadors for concluding a treaty.[d] On the 2nd of April the warden of the Cinque Ports was strictly enjoined not to permit any messenger whatever coming from the Queen or from the King's ambassadors in France to show any letter, nor relate any news to any one in the world[e] until such messenger had been with the King. As soon as a messenger arrived he was to swear to observe this injunction; and the warden was to send one of his own people with him to the King.[f]

A disgraceful peace was made with France in May, when it was agreed that Charles should have possession of Guienne until Edward appeared in person at Beauvais, and did homage for the duchy, but that his right to the Agénois should be determined by the French peers.[g] The King accordingly made arrangements for proceeding to France. On the 29th of July he committed the custody of the ports and sea-

[a] Fœdera, II. 588.
[b] Ibid. p. 591.
[c] Ibid. p. 593.
[d] Ibid. p. 595.
[e] "Nully de mounde."
[f] Fœdera, II. 596.
[g] Ibid. pp. 601, 602.

A. D. 1325. coasts of Northumberland to Sir Henry de Percy and two other barons;[a] and on the 29th of that month the Cinque Ports were ordered to provide ships for the King's passage, which were to be ready at Dover on the 15th of August.[b] Edward arrived at the abbey of Langdon, near Dover, about the 24th of August, and remained there from illness[c] until the 12th of September. He then proposed, that, in consequence of his sickness, the homage for Aquitaine should be performed by the young Prince Edward. Charles consented, provided his father would transfer to him the possession of Guienne and Poitou. The conditions were accepted, and the Prince sailed from Dover for that purpose on the 12th of September.[d] The refusal of Isabella and her son to return, and the state of affairs in England, rendered measures of precaution against foreign enemies highly expedient. On the 30th of September Sir Ralph de Camoys and Sir Robert de Kendale, constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, who had been recently made keepers of the ports and coast of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and the keepers of all other counties, were urged to be vigilant and active, and they were desired to arrest all suspicious persons, in consequence of certain rumours which had reached the King's ears.[e] For the same reason Sir John Sturmy had been constituted admiral of the King's fleet from the Thames northward, and had been ordered to prepare all ships under his jurisdiction, and to cause them to be detained in certain ports; but he represented to the King by his

[a] Fœdera, II. 603.
[b] Ibid. pp. 604—606.
[c] Ibid. p. 606.
[d] Fœdera, II. 607—609.
[e] Ibid. p. 610.

letters that as the rumours were unfounded, it was no longer necessary to detain those vessels to the heavy loss of their owners. Sturmy was accordingly desired to release them; but he was charged to retain as many ships as he thought necessary for the King's service with the least possible injury to their owners; and the King promised to satisfy those whose ships might be so detained.[a] The western fleet was then commanded by Sir Nicholas Kyriel.[b] A. D. 1325.

About this time, according to Walsingham, three admirals of the three coasts of England, namely, Sir John Sturmy, Sir Nicholas Kyriel, and Sir John de Felton, having the custody of the sea, with full power under the King's commission to "invade, harass, and destroy" all merchants of France, put to sea with a fleet of ships belonging to Yarmouth, Portsmouth, and the western ports, and soon captured one hundred and twenty Norman ships, which they brought to England. To this circumstance Walsingham attributes an "inexorable hatred between the two kings."[c] Towards the end of this year it became manifest that Isabella had determined to place her son on his father's throne. Troops were raised in England in her name, Edward's ambassadors returned from France, and Charles again sent an army into Guienne.

On the 3rd of January 1326 orders similar to those before mentioned were issued for the examination and seizure of letters injurious to the King that might be brought in ships and boats on the coast of the Thames, between Reculver, Greyston, and Whitstaple, and to other places.[d] No men-at-arms or other persons, A. D. 1326.

[a] Fœdera, II. 614.
[b] Rot. Patent. 19 Edw. II. m. 10.
[c] Page 100.
[d] Fœdera, II. 617.

A. D. 1326. horses, armour, money, or provisions, were to be allowed to go out of the realm from Dover without the King's special license, except merchants on their necessary business; but such merchants were to be searched, to prevent their taking with them letters to the prejudice of the King's service.[a]

The Pontiff again endeavoured to preserve peace, and for that object sent prelates to Charles, and afterwards to this country. Sir Ralph Basset, constable of Dover, was directed, on the 19th of May 1326, to prepare ships sufficient for their protection, and for the safety of the sea and of the realm after their arrival, lest sudden injuries and dangers should occur. No messengers were to be permitted to proceed without being first searched. Very particular directions were given to him as to the reception of the prelates; and he was specially desired not to approach the vessels that brought them with many ships, lest they should be frightened. Orders were also given to Sir Nicholas Kyriel, the admiral of the King's navy from the westward of the Thames, to collect all his ships as he should be directed by Basset, and to send them to him, Kyriel himself being desired to repair to London to consult with the King's council on the defence of the sea, pursuant to the commands before sent to him; but he was to take care to leave some wise and competent person to act with Basset during his absence.[b]

The inhabitants of Shoreham requested authority to proceed to various parts on the sea-coast, with the rest of the King's sailors, to remain there for the use of his ships; and on the 18th of July the King acquainted them that the French monarch was waging

[a] Fœdera, II. 618, 619. [b] Ibid. p. 628.

war against him, and detained the Queen and Prince Edward in France, contrary to his will, and that he also held great part of Gascony, "against God, justice, and good faith." He therefore commanded them to attack all Charles' subjects, except the Flemings and Bretons, with his ships, as vigorously as possible; but they were not to molest any foreign or alien merchant unless they were subjects of France.[a] Orders were also issued, on the 20th of July, to the keepers of the Cinque Ports, and to Sir John Sturmy and Sir Nicholas Kyriel, the admirals of the King's two fleets, as well as to all sheriffs, not to molest any foreign or alien merchants, including Flemings and Bretons, trading with England, except the French. Edward, however, added, that, if the King of France would release the English merchants and ships, which he had lately arrested, particularly those at Crocey, he would, in like manner, release all French merchants with their property.[b] Imperative commands were sent on the 12th of August to every sea-port north and west of the Thames, to dispatch all ships of fifty tons and upwards to Portsmouth, by the end of that month, well armed and furnished with double shipping, for the war with France. The commanders and masters[c] of these ships were enjoined to serve in person, and to place themselves under Kyriel, the admiral of the said fleet; and if any of them did not proceed to the appointed rendezvous, he was to be seized and imprisoned, and his name sent to the King. All captains and masters of ships of less burthen than fifty tons were to remain with their vessels in their several A. D. 1326.

[a] Fœdera, II. 635.

[b] "Domini navium illarum." Fœdera, II. 659.

[c] "Domini et magistri."

A. D. 1326. ports, and not on any account, for fishing or other cause, to quit them until the King gave orders to the contrary. If any of such vessels were found at sea, they were to be seized by the admiral and their masters imprisoned.[a] Measures were, as in January, taken for examining letters and correspondence by the admiral and others, and for arresting suspected persons.[b]

The French King having seized all the subjects of England, with their property, in his dominions, Edward ordered every Frenchman and his ship and goods to be arrested, except priests and ecclesiastics, those who were domiciled with their wives and children, and had long resided in the realm as denizens, and the Flemish and Bretons; but soon afterwards an indiscriminate arrest of all French subjects, except the Flemings, was ordered to be made.[c] A strong remonstrance having reached Charles from the Pope, he sent his sister the Queen of England out of his dominions, and at the suggestion of the Count of Artois she proceeded with her son and retinue to Hainault. Her cause was eagerly supported by William Count of Hainault, and she consented that Prince Edward should marry his daughter Philippa. Sir John of Hainault, the Count's brother, raised two thousand men-at-arms, and swore to die in her quarrel; and shipping was collected at Dordrech, in Holland, to transport the Queen and Prince with the Hainault soldiers to England.[d] Edward was well informed of these proceedings; and, as Isabella intended to land at Orwell, in Suffolk, he, on the 3rd of September,

[a] Fœdera, II. 637.
[b] Ibid. pp. 638, 642.
[c] Ibid. pp. 638, 641.
[d] Froissart, ed. Buchon, tome I. pp. 10—13.

commanded all ships of thirty tons or more, which A.D. 1326.
were to the northward of the Thames, to be sent to Orwell by the 21st of that month, well stored with a double shipment of arms and provisions; and all the captains and masters were strictly enjoined to serve in person in their ships. Officers were appointed to see that all the "lords and masters" of those ships proceeded with their vessels; and they were directed to arrest such "lords and masters" as were contumacious and rebellious, to send them to the King, and to seize their ships.[a]

On the 19th of September 1326 the northern fleet was placed under the command of Sir Robert Leybourne, its captain and admiral;[b] but it appears to have been soon after entrusted to Sir John Sturmy.[c] Twelve ships, each having forty well-armed men, were ordered to be sent from London and the sea-ports of Kent, to cruise off the Foreland; the same number from the northern ports, to remain off the coast near Shields; and twelve from Harwich and Ipswich, to cruise off Orfordness against the enemy.[d]

Letters were dispatched on the 4th of September to the mayor, the hundred peers, and the commonalty of Bayonne, apprising them of the war with France, and informing them that the King had sent his admirals of the fleet against the French, Normans, and other subjects of France, except the Flemings, and commanding them immediately to put to sea from Bayonne with all their ships for the same purpose. They were promised whatever goods and chattels they might capture, and were assured that their con-

[a] Fœdera, II. p. 639.
[b] Rot. Patent. 20 Edw. II. m. 15.
[c] Ibid. m. 20.
[d] Rot. Claus. 20 Edw. II. m. 7. 18.

A. D. 1326. duct on this occasion should be afterwards duly considered.[a]

Queen Isabella, Prince Edward, and Sir John of Hainault, with upwards of two thousand seven hundred men-at-arms, embarked at Dordrech, about the 22nd of September, in a fine fleet, according to its size, and well ordered. With the first flood they anchored off the dykes of Holland, and the next morning made sail, coasting along Zealand, intending to have landed at a particular port;[b] but a gale of wind drove them out of their course, and for two days they were ignorant of their position. When the tempest abated they descried the English coast, and landed on the sands, instead of entering a proper harbour or port, on the 26th of September. The troops remained on the sands three days, during which time they were employed in landing the horses and armour. It appears that they knew not in what part of England they were, nor whether they were in the hands of their friends or their enemies. They were short of provisions, and suffered much from cold and hunger; but on the fourth day they proceeded on their way, relying upon God and Saint George, and found quarters in the monastery of Saint Edmondsbury.[c] The English Chroniclers state that the Queen landed at Orwell, with her retinue, and "entered England" at Harwich,[d] but they take no notice of the English ships which were ordered to be at Orwell by the 21st of September, and it is evident that the Queen's fleet met with no resistance. This fact has been

[a] Fœdera, II. p. 640.

[b] "A un port qu'ils avoient avisé," rendered by Lord Berners, "Dongport."

[c] Froissart, I. 13, 14.

[d] Walsingham, 101. Robert of Avesbury, p. 4. Moor, 589.

attributed to Edward's ships having been "perfidiously directed to a different port;"[a] but it is more probable that they had not arrived at the appointed rendezvous. A. D. 1326

On the 27th of September Edward issued a proclamation announcing that the notorious traitor and his mortal enemy, Mortimer, had landed in Suffolk, accompanied by his Queen and his son, and calling upon all his subjects to arm and support Robert de Watevyll in resisting his enemies.[b] The appeal was, however, in vain. Isabel was every where received as the deliverer of the country; and on the 20th of October Prince Edward assumed the government of the realm.[c] The wretched King sought safety in Wales; but meeting with no support from his Welch subjects, he embarked with the younger Despenser and his Chancellor, Robert Baldock, in a very small vessel, intending to go to the Isle of Lundy, or to Ireland. His ill-fortune, however, pursued him; for contrary winds obliged him, after being near a week at sea, to land in Glamorganshire, whence he went to Neath.[d] Froissart gives a more detailed account of the King's attempt to escape. He says that Edward and the younger Despenser embarked in a small boat[e] behind Bristol Castle, intending to go to Wales; but after being eleven days at sea, striving against contrary winds, and being once or twice every day driven back within a quarter of a league of the castle, Sir Henry Beaumont went out in a barge after the King's vessel, and rowed so vigorously that it was overtaken and brought back to Bristol,

[a] Lingard; but he cites no authority for the assertion.
[b] Fœdera, II. 643.
[c] Ibid. p. 646.
[d] Moor, 58; Walsingham, 105.
[e] "Un petit bateau," "batelet."

A. D. 1326. when Edward and his companions were delivered prisoners to the Queen.[a] Edward's subsequent fate need not be stated here. In December Isabella rewarded thirty-five sailors of Bayonne with 10*l.* for their acceptable service in conveying her to England;[b] and on the 6th of that month the constable of Dover was directed to provide twenty of the passage vessels to carry some of the Hainault troops back to Flanders.[c]

A. D. 1327. On the 25th of January 1327 Prince Edward ascended the throne as King Edward the Third.

[a] Ed. Buchon, tome I. p. 16. [b] Fœdera, II. 647. [c] Ibid.

CHAPTER XIII.

PIRATICAL HABITS OF SAILORS OF ALL COUNTRIES.—INSTANCES OF SHIPS PLUNDERED AT SEA.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE KING OF PORTUGAL RESPECTING A SHIP.—SIZE AND EQUIPMENT OF SHIPS.—OFFICERS AND CREWS.—REPRESENTATIONS OF VESSELS.—DESCRIPTION OF THREE SHIPS FURNISHED THE KING OF FRANCE BY THE GENOESE.—INVENTION OF THE MODERN RUDDER.—ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF ZIERIKZEE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE FLEMINGS.—CREWS RAISED BY IMPRESSMENT.—PAYMENTS FOR NAUTICAL PURPOSES.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.—ADMISSION OF THE RIGHT OF ENGLAND TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS.

No fact in the Naval history of the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth century is more remarkable, than the piratical habits of the sailors of this and other countries. During a truce or peace, ships were boarded, plundered, and captured by vessels of a friendly power, as if there had been an actual war. Even English merchant-ships were attacked and robbed, as well in port as at sea, by English vessels, and especially by those of the Cinque Ports, which seem to have been nests of robbers; and, judging from the numerous complaints, it would appear that a general system of piracy existed, which no government was strong enough to restrain. Remonstrances and demands for satisfaction were constantly made by one sovereign of another, for some aggression committed by his subjects at sea; and when justice was not obtained, letters of marque and reprisals were granted, which were, in fact, permission for individuals to take the law into their own hands, and to obtain

compensation for their own private injury from any innocent countryman of the aggressor. Many of these lawless proceedings have been already noticed; but there are a few others, which show the predatory conduct of sailors in so strong a light, that they ought not to be omitted.

On the 20th of March 1308 Edward wrote to the King of France, stating that three merchants of Great Yarmouth had complained to him that a ship which they had laden with cloths, wools, canvass, cables, and gold and silver, to the value of 40*l.*, at Rouen for England, was attacked after sunset on the first Sunday in Lent, while at anchor at Clef de Cauz, by some pirates and robbers from the port of Lire, who boarded their ship, carried her out to sea, seized the money and goods, and despoiled the crew of their clothing. He therefore requested that full and speedy justice might be done to the parties aggrieved.[a]

In 1308 or 1309 several merchants of Winchester complained to the King and his council, that, when off Gravelines, in their ship, laden with cloths, coming from Sluys in Flanders to England, it was boarded and robbed by two Flemish ships, and the plunder carried off to Hulst; that they pursued the Flemings to that city, and had sought redress from the Count of Flanders, but could only obtain restoration of part of their goods. They therefore prayed the King's aid, who referred their petition to the Chancery, to be dealt with as was usual in similar cases.[b] About 1314, William de Huntingdon stated, in a petition to the King, that he had gone to the port of Dublin with his ship and cargo, and that while he was in

[a] Fœdera, II. 40.

[b] Rot. Parl. I. 277.

that city, paying the customs for his said ship, John le Lung of Bristol, with other "malefactors and pirates,"[a] captured and carried off his ship with all the goods and merchandise on board, and afterwards maliciously burnt the vessel, to his great injury and against the King's peace. The justiciary of Ireland was ordered to cause the matter to be investigated, and to send the report to the King in Chancery.[b] In the same year William de Forbernard, a merchant of Gascony, complained that he had laden the ship of John Perbroun of Yarmouth, called the "Paternoster," with wines, and that when off the Foreland, on her passage to St. Botolph, she was met by Peter Bert of Sandwich, Gervays Alard of Winchelsea, and Robert Cleves of Greenwich; that the said Bert took six tons of wine out of the said ship, Gervays Alard two tons and a pipe, and Cleves one pipe; and as those persons were in the King's service, he prayed him to order a suitable remedy. The poor Frenchman, however, obtained no other redress than being told to apply to the common law.[c] An attack made on some Flemish ships off Crowdon will be afterwards particularly noticed, on account of the important documents to which it gave rise

In September 1322, two merchants of Shireborne, in Dorsetshire, complained that they had laden a ship of Whitsand with cloth and canvass, and that, when it arrived off Portsmouth, Robert de Battayle and many others of the Cinque Ports boarded the ship, and carried off about eighty pounds' worth of her cargo, pretending that they were the people of Roger Damory and came from Shireborne, as open letters from

[a] "Malefactores et piratæ." [b] Rot. Parl. I. 327. [c] Ibid. p. 406.

the Bishop of Salisbury proved. A writ was ordered to issue against the transgressors.[a]

About the same time Albrith le Breme, a German merchant, complained to the King and his council, that, as he was with his ship, called the "Cruxenbergh," worth 40*l.*, having stores and provisions to the value of 45*l.* 10*s.*, and a cargo estimated at 139*l.*, in the port of Orwell, two ships, one belonging to Winchelsea and the other to Greenwich, full of armed men, came into that harbour, boarded his ship, drove him and his nine comrades on shore, and then pursued them, killing one and wounding others of the crew, after which they carried off the ship.[b] But the most flagrant instance of violence and contempt for law and justice occurred about 1314. A ship called the "Blessed Mary" of Fontarabie, near Bayonne, belonging to the King's subjects, with a cargo worth 2200*l.* sterling, going to Gascony, was driven on shore on the coast of Angoumois. The wreck was immediately plundered by sailors belonging to Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney; and, when an inquiry to discover the perpetrators of the robbery was ordered to be made by Robert de Kendale, warden of the Cinque Ports at Winchelsea, the people of that town, Rye, and Romney, most probably the thieves themselves, interfered, and by force and violence prevented the investigation from taking place. The King's council decided, that, as nothing had been done by Robert de Kendale, an inquiry should be made by Henry de Cobham, the present warden of the Cinque Ports, who was to do full and speedy justice in the matter.[c] In 1323 or 1324, the ship Annot of Ditton, laden with fish of

[a] Rot. Parl. i. 413. [b] Ibid. 15 & 16 Edw. II. vol. i. p. 397. [c] Ibid. i. 239.

various kinds for the King's use, was boarded between Lynn and Orford, by John Russell and other malefactors of Spalding, who killed the crew, and took the vessel to Seaford, where they sold the ship and cargo. Two persons were therefore commanded to arrest the offenders, and put them in prison that they might be punished.[a]

Towards the end of the reign of Edward the First, some Portuguese brought to Lisbon a ship which they had found in the possession of pirates. Dionysius, King of Portugal, supposing it to be an English vessel, detained it for more than two years, though the King of Castile had requested that it should be delivered to some of his subjects, who, he said, would prove their right to it. In September 1308 Edward the Second warmly thanked the Portuguese monarch; but said, that, as he had not received any complaint from his subjects about the ship, he would advise Dionysius to restore her to the King of Castile, upon such conditions, however, that, if it hereafter appeared that the vessel did belong to any subjects of England, they might not be precluded from obtaining their property.[b] A letter from the King to Dionysius, King of Portugal, in October 1308, shows that the practice of hoisting false colours[c] is not of modern invention. In reply to Dionysius' letter, Edward said he rejoiced at the amity and good understanding which had been established between the merchants of Portugal and England, and which he hoped would be permanent

[a] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 17 Edw. II. p. 279. [b] Fœdera, II. 7.

[c] "Qui dum dicta facinora perpetrabant, vexilla sua, vestra insignia et arma repræsentantia, dolosè erigebant, se Portugallos falsè et malitiosè proclamando, ut sic mercatores nostros, tali falsitatis velamine, contra mercatores vestros ad inimicitias provocarent."

and indissoluble; that, although he had not before heard of the depredations and villany committed by the merchants of Castile, mentioned by Dionysius, (who, while perpetrating those atrocities, had craftily hoisted a banner representing his ensigns and arms, so that, from being supposed to be Portuguese, they might incite the English merchants to hostility against the merchants of Portugal,) and although he had not received any complaints on the subject, yet he would willingly, at Dionysius' request, grant letters of safe-conduct to all Portuguese merchants coming to England, or to any other part of his dominions.[a]

Though vessels were described by the same names, seem to have been of about the same size, to have contained the same officers, and to have had the same number of men, and at the same rate of wages, as during the reign of Edward the First, yet a few new and interesting particulars have been found; and the subject can fortunately be illustrated by contemporary graphic representations of shipping and sea-fights.

The list of the ten ships and one cog which formed the King's fleet on the coast of Scotland in 1322, shows that a cog was sometimes a larger vessel[b] than those usually designated "ships;" for while ten of those ships carried only from eight to forty-six men, and while the largest of the whole of them,—the "Nicholas of Westminster,"—had no more than seventy-eight, the cog "John" had a crew of eighty-two men. The fifteen other ships of that fleet, furnished by the ports, had on the average forty men in each, the masters of which received sixpence and the sailors threepence a day.[c]

[a] Fœdera, II. 58.
[b] See also p. 225, *ante*.
[c] Wardrobe Accounts, 17 Edw. II.; Archæologia, VI. 197.

Accurate information of the size, officers, and crews of ships is obtained from the instructions that were issued to Sir John Deverye, a priest, who was sent to survey the fleet at Plymouth, and Southampton, and in the other western ports, destined for Guienne, in 1324. He was to see that the vessels were well found in rigging, anchors, ropes, cables, and other necessary articles; and that they were manned with good crews, in the following proportions:—

Tons.	Mariners.	Tons.	Mariners.
A Ship of 240	60	A Ship of 140	35
200	50	120	28
160 to 180	40	100	26
		80	24
		60	21

Every ship of one hundred and eighty tons and upwards was to have one master and two constables, and those of one hundred and sixty tons and less, one master and one constable, who were to be included in the number of the crew. Deverye was ordered to consult with the good people of the ports as to the bridges, clayes, and "rafteux,"[a] and other necessary things for the ships, according to whether they were large or small, and whether they were to be laden with men or horses. He was to urge the sheriffs and others to use great expedition in equipping the ships, so that they might be ready to sail on the appointed day and place, and to report his proceedings from time to time. He was also to take care that the sailors were paid their wages beforehand for twenty days following that on which they put to sea,[b] and to make a return to the chancellor or treasurer of

[a] Apparently the same as "raccos," "raccages," thus explained in the "Archéologie Navale," II. 389: "Pommes de bois, ou pour faire des colliers aux chevaux, ou pour arrêter la longe à la mangeiore, comme aujourd'hui."

[b] "Apres qe eux comencent de cygler playn jornez."

the names of the masters of the ships, and the number of their crews, and to what port they belonged, for their more certain payment, and for the better providing them with provisions.[a] It may be inferred from this document, that there were few English ships, of more then two hundred and forty tons burthen, or which carried more than sixty men, except galleys, the number of whose crews was proportionate to their oars.

The following representations of shipping are taken from a manuscript in the British Museum,[b] and which is presumed to have been written and illuminated in Italy, early in the fourteenth century. All the ships have two masts supported by a few shrouds, which, in some instances, have rattlings; and there is one large square-sail on each mast. The foremast, which was then the longest and principal mast, rakes considerably over the bows; and both masts have a top, with a flag-staff, and a pencell or streamer flying from it. At the stern, and in other ships forward also, is an elevated platform, called a stage, or castle, or "bellatorium," on which the choicest soldiers were placed in battle, who from that eminence shot the arrows into an enemy's vessel with great effect. In this castle the banner or ensign was affixed,[c] though it does not appear in any of these drawings. At the sides are the paddles for steering. The vessels are full of soldiers, whose helmets only are visible; and their commander is indicated by a coronet.

[a] Rot. Patent. 17 Edw. II. p. 2. m. 13, printed in the "Archæologia," vol. VI. p. 211.

[b] "Historie de Commencement du Monde jusques a la naisance de Jesu Crist, avec plusieurs peintures." Royal MSS. 20 D. I. ff. 21, 66b, 178, and 258.

[c] See the Ships on the seals of many towns in the "Archéologie Navale."

The next ship differs from the last only in having an archer in the main-top; but her foremast rakes much more over the bows.

In the next engraving the artist has represented a naval combat, and the details are extremely curious. The sails of three of the vessels are furled; the most eminent persons occupy the stage or castle of each ship; and the form of the grappling and chain so often

mentioned[a] is not only shewn, but is proved to have been used in sea-fights.

The fourth of these engravings is valuable from its representing the "vissiers,"[b] or vessels used for conveying horses. Instead of hoisting horses in and out of a ship as is now done, it seems that they were embarked and landed through a large port at the extre-

mity of the vessel. In this drawing the stage or castle is more plainly exhibited than in the other illumi-

[a] Vide pp. 77, 179, *ante*. [b] Vide pp. 75, 76, 112, &c., 153, *ante*.

nations. The banner on the mast is that of France, with a label of three points.

Much fuller information on many points respecting the equipment of ships is desirable, than can be gathered from any drawings; and there are, fortunately, the means of supplying it. The researches of the distinguished naval archæologist of France[a] have brought to light two remarkable documents; and, though their value is impaired by the impenetrable obscurity[b] of many of the technical terms, yet a more accurate idea of a vessel of this period may be obtained from them, than from any other source.

In 1268 the city of Genoa agreed to furnish Louis the Ninth with ships for his voyage to the Holy Land, and the contracts contain a full and minute description of three of those vessels. Two of the ships were to be alike, and were to have 31 cubits of keel, and 50 cubits of extreme length, with $40\frac{1}{2}$ palms[c] of beam. The depth of the hold was $17\frac{1}{2}$ palms; of the first deck, 9; of the second, 8; and of the pavisade, 5 palms. Each ship had a large boat, two barges, and a gondola or small boat; and two rudders, (one on each side,) 9 palms long. The foremast was 51 cubits in length, and $12\frac{3}{4}$ palms in circumference. The mainmast was 47 cubits long, and $11\frac{3}{4}$ in circumference. The foreyard, which was made of three pieces of different lengths, seems to have exceeded 100 cubits;[d] and the mainyard, which was made of two pieces, to have been 4 cubits shorter. There was also a separate

[a] Monsieur Jal.

[b] The learned author says that the manuscripts are "criblé de fautes," and that the second of those documents occupied him upwards of four months and a half. Archéologie Navale, II. 387.

[c] A cubit is 1 foot 9·888 in.; and a palm, 3·648 in.

[d] The whole length of the three pieces was one hundred and seventeen cubits, but part of that length was lost by one of the pieces being placed over the other in the centre.

yard of the same length as the mainyard, for the "velon," a large sail, the nature of which has not been exactly ascertained;[a] but, as it had a separate yard, it may have been used when going before the wind as an additional sail. It seems to have been hoisted only on the foremast. Four thousand ells of spun hemp, to supply cordage, &c., was allowed to every ship; and they each had six cotton sails of the following dimensions: viz. for the foresail 66 cubits, for the "terzarole,"[b] 61 cubits; another sail of 56, and another of 52 cubits. The mainsail was 58 cubits, and another sail was 52 cubits. Two of these sails, namely, a "terzarole" for the foremast, and a "velon" also for the foremast, were to be made of Marseilles cotton. Each ship had twenty-six iron anchors, twenty of which weighed eight cantares, and the others ten cantares each; and casks for two thousand "mezaroles" of water. The two ships were to be furnished with stabling to carry one hundred horses between them; and they had fourteen hawsers for fastenings or moorings in port. The cost of these two ships, with all their stores, was 14,000 livres tournois.

The other ship was called the "Paradise," and cost 3750 livres tournois;[c] but great part of the contract is so obscure, that only the most material facts can be stated. The size of the "Paradise" is not mentioned. She had two good rudders, a new and good foremast, 50 cubits long, and 12¼ palms in circumference; and a mainmast, 46 cubits long, and 11 palms in circum-

[a] M. Jal says (p. 401), that, though the "velon" was a large sail, it was not always the largest in the ship.

[b] Notwithstanding all M. Jal's inquiries, the "terzarole" remains to be satisfactorily defined. Its name implies that it was the third sail; and it was, perhaps, used when the wind was too strong for the usual foresail. It was, however, larger than the mainsail.

[c] "Environ 63,750 francs, à 17 fr. la livre Tournois." Jal, 394.

ference; and each mast had a top. She had three yards, namely, a foré-yard, a main-yard, and a yard for the "velon." There were also seven sails, namely, a new one of 63 cubits, a "terzarole," nearly new, of 57 cubits, two "velons," one of 48 and the other of 52 cubits, a new "terzarole" of 53 cubits, and a new "velon" of 58 cubits. The ship had twenty-five anchors, twelve of which had buoys; three cables, thirty-one hawsers, and four mooring ropes at the bows; a barge of fifty-two oars and two anchors, a boat of thirty-two, another of thirty-four, and a gondola with twelve oars. Her small stores are minutely detailed, especially those of the carpenter, consisting of hatchets, nails, hammers, scales, pitch-kettles, &c. Among the stores were a sounding-lead, three grapplings with chains, and six lanthorns, one of which was made of glass.[a]

Monsieur Jal considers that the vessels were lateen rigged, as, he says, the sails were right-angular, of which the length given by the number of cubits formed the hypotheneuse;[b] but this idea is not supported by any drawings of the period, in all of which the yards are slung in the middle, and the sails appear perfectly square. The number of cubits may therefore have indicated the depth of the sails.

The professional reader will be surprised that no bowsprit, nor any fore-and-aft sail is mentioned, which fact, together with the imperfect apparatus for steering, renders it difficult to suppose that these vessels could have kept their wind within at least seven or eight points; so that they could only have made progress when sailing large or before the wind. In some illumi-

[a] Archéologie Navale, II. 387—446. It is only from a perusal of these pages that an adequate idea can be formed of M. Jal's learning and industry.

[b] Archéologie Navale, II. 433. See also his "Nef restituée."

nations[a] of the fourteenth century ships are, however, represented with a kind of short bowsprit, to which a stay is attached from the foremast; but it does not support any sail; and it was not until, comparatively, a very recent period that a jib or stay-sail appears to have been introduced. It is also remarkable that a pump is not said to have been in any of those ships.

A point of much nautical interest now arises, and upon which some light can be thrown, though the question involved cannot be definitively settled. Great doubt has long existed about the invention of the modern rudder; and no English antiquary has traced it to an earlier date than the middle of the reign of Edward the Third.[b] Like every other subject connected with maritime affairs, this has received much of Monsieur Jal's attention;[c] and after stating that the old plan of steering a vessel by a paddle on each side was not abandoned until long after the improvement was discovered, which agrees with finding ships represented with paddles in manuscripts of a much later date than those in which the modern rudder is seen, and that paddles are still used by the "burchii" at Venice,[d] he refers to the seal of the city of Damme attached to a charter in the year 1328. That curious seal contains a ship with a fore and stern castle, in each of which is a man holding a banner. It has only one mast, and no yard or sail, but there is a

[a] Royal MSS. 14 C. c. VII. in the British Museum, being the copy of Matthew Paris' "Historia Major," from which the ship in p. 242, *ante*, was taken; but that ship has no bowsprit. A bowsprit also occurs to some ships in another manuscript of the middle of the fourteenth century, marked as the Additional MSS. 12,228.

[b] Cruden's "History of Gravesend," pp. 94—96, where it is observed that the modern rudder occurs to the ship on the noble of that monarch.

[c] Archéologie Navale, I. 71 *et seq.*, 146, 215, II. 81, 394, 437, 440.

[d] Paddles are still used by the Chinese for steering, as well as the rudder.

short bowsprit with a rope from the outer end leading in over the bows. The shrouds, or rather stays, go from the top of the mast to the bow and stern, and a man is sliding down one of them. At the stern is the present rudder, with pintle and gudgeons; and the tiller was shipped over the rudder head, instead of being placed in a cavity through it.[a]

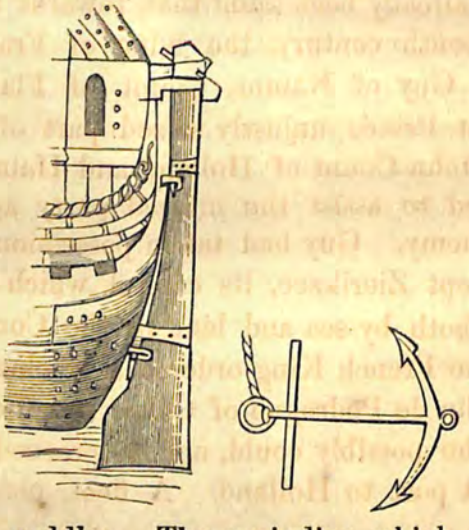
There is, however, it is presumed, rather earlier evidence of the use of the modern rudder than the seal of Damme; and it is remarkable that scarcely any change whatever has been since made in its form or in the manner of attaching it to a ship. In a manuscript,[b] which may be safely assigned to the commencement of the fourteenth century, probably about the year 1300, two drawings of ships are given, one of which is annexed. In both, the rudder appears at the stern, and a man is seen steering with a tiller.

[a] See the engraving of that seal in the Archéologie Navale, II. 367.

[b] Royal MSS. 20. A. v., "L'Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand," which has been engraved. The rudder in the drawing not being perfect, it has been partly supplied from the other drawing alluded to.

In another manuscript[a] of the middle of the same century there are two delineations of Noah's ark, represented by ships covered over with a large house; and both have rudders at the stern, with two pintles and gudgeons, and a tiller.

From the perfect manner in which the rudder appears in these drawings, it is highly probable, that, though not then, nor until a much later period, in general use, yet that it had long been applied to large vessels, whose size and height out of the water must have rendered it extremely inconvenient to steer with



the ancient paddles. The prejudice which seamen of all ages and all countries have shewn against innovations, accounts, however, for the tardy adoption of even the most obvious improvements in nautical science.[b]

[a] Royal MSS. 2. B. VII. "Historiæ Veteris Testamenti, coloribus aqueis depictæ, quarum tituli sunt Gallicè scripti."

[b] Falconer has admirably described the obstinacy and prejudice of the old English seaman in the character of Rodmond:—

——"Each veteran rule he prized,
And all improvement haughtily despised."

Again:—

"To long-try'd practice obstinately warm,
He doubts conviction, and relies on form."

The early Naval history of England has derived many valuable illustrations from foreign sources, since there was then little if any difference between the shipping of England and those of France, Spain, or Holland; but no statement is more important or more interesting than the description of a great battle between the French and Flemish fleet off Zierikzee, the capital of Zealand, in August 1304, in the metrical chronicle of Guiart, a soldier as well as a poet, who seems to have been a participator in the affair which he has so vividly depicted.[a]

It has already been said,[b] that, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the King of France was at war with Guy of Namur, Count of Flanders; and when that Prince unjustly seized part of the dominions of John Count of Holland and Hainault, Philip determined to assist the injured party against their mutual enemy. Guy had taken possession of all Zealand, except Zierikzee, its capital, which was closely invested both by sea and land by the Count of Flanders. The French King ordered a celebrated seaman called John de Pedrogue of Calais to collect as many ships as he possibly could, and to proceed with them from that port to Holland. A fleet, consisting alto-

[a] "Chronique Métrique de Guillaume Guiart," ed. Buchon, tome II. (eighth of the series), pp. 348—400; and the modern version of Guiart's narrative by Mons. d'Aussy, with observations on the French Navy in the 14th century, in "Les Mémoires de l'Institut," tome II. pp. 302 *et seq.*

[b] Vide p. 282, *ante*. The statement referred to shows that the French monarch obtained a loan of twenty English ships for his expedition against Flanders. Guiart thus describes the French fleet:—

"A Calais petit séjourna
Que les nés furent aprestées,
Que Pedrogue ot là arestées:
Ce ne furent mie naceles,
Més trente-huit nés granz et beles,
Riches et plaisantes et entières,
A chastiaus devant et derrières;
Selonc raison longues et lées,
Et de touz costez crénelées,
Par miex deffendre c'on n'es praninge." P. 350.

gether of about thirty Norman or Calaisian ships, eight Spaniards, which had come to Calais for merchandise, and were impressed for this expedition, and eleven Genoese galleys under Reyner de Grimaldi, besides many barges, boats, galiots, and other small vessels, sailed from Calais early in August 1304. Though Pedrogue was captain of the French ships, the chief command of the whole fleet was given to Grimaldi, who had received from Philip the title of "Admiral." Ten thousand choice troops were placed on board these vessels; and it is said that they put to sea with the sound of drums and fifes. At Esqueden, near the mouth of the Meuse, they found Count William, son of the Count of Hainault, who joined Grimaldi with ten thousand soldiers and several Dutch ships; but only five of his vessels were considered fit for action, the others being too short and too low. The young Count embarked in one of his own ships, and his troops were dispersed among the French fleet. Contrary winds and tides prevented them from making greater progress than four leagues in eight days, during which time the Count of Flanders was strengthening his defences. About the 17th of August, the combined fleet arrived off Zierikzee, and Grimaldi, after reconnoitring the enemy, formed his ships into four lines. In the van he placed fourteen large ships under Pedrogue and Count William of Hainault. The second line contained fourteen ships, manned by people of various countries; and the third line of the fourteen remaining ships. In the fourth line were the eleven Genoese galleys under Grimaldi, the commander-in-chief. From the bows and sterns of these vessels floated numerous banners and pennons, and their sides,

lined with soldiers, glittered with shields and armour. The mast of each ship was surmounted by a round top or embattled[a] stage, containing from three to six choice soldiers, and furnished with "quarrels" (large square-headed arrows) and stones. One or two springalds (engines for throwing heavy missiles) were placed in every ship; and the soldiers and crews, as well as their chiefs, were distinguished from the enemy, by having a white band sewn over their armour.

The Flemish fleet, in which forty thousand troops were embarked, formed two lines, the large ships being in the van, and the small ones in the rear. The Count of Flanders was on board his principal vessel, which, like all the other large ships of both fleets, had a fore and stern castle, defended by the bravest and most skilful soldiers; and their tops were supplied with hard bricks, which he had caused to be burnt for the purpose.

The attack began about noon on the 18th of August, by Pedrogue's approaching the Flemish fleet with four ships from the right of the French van; but just as he came within bow-shot, the tide ebbed so suddenly that these vessels took the ground. In consequence of this disaster, the French squadrons, which were advancing in three lines, hove to, changed their order of battle from four, to one compact long line, and anchored head and stern. They then fastened the ships to each other by cables so closely that a man could leap from vessel to vessel.

All the galleys remained in the rear in close order, and likewise came to an anchor. A measure was then

[a] Créneléz à quatre quierres."

adopted by the French admiral which shows his distrust of the courage or the fidelity of his crews. To prevent any one from escaping in the boats, Grimaldi directed all of them to be removed from the ships; and they formed a small flotilla at some distance from the fleet. No longer assailants, the French assumed a defensive position; and, as soon as the Flemings saw that four of the ships were aground, several vessels proceeded with loud shouts to attack them. A cloud of "quarrels" fell upon the French, who gallantly returned the assault, and put their springalds in action. "Clarions were then heard to sound on both sides." An attempt was at this moment made by the Flemings on shore to destroy the four ships that had grounded. Two small vessels,[a] filled with pitch, oil, grease, and other combustibles, were towed to windward, and being fired, were set adrift; but the wind seems to have changed, for, instead of the fire-ships driving upon Pedrogue's little squadron, they came in contact with the rear of their own line, set several ships in flames, and caused much havoc and loss of life.

It was then three in the afternoon, and the flood tide having made, drums, horns, and trumpets in both fleets gave the signal for renewing the fight. About this time, the four French ships floated, and immediately joined their consorts. A garot[b] thrown from one of the springalds in Pedrogue's own ship struck

[a] "Naceles."

[b] "Garrot, garrotus," a cross-bow dart. Ducange quotes Guiart *in voce*.

"Sus le pont et en la breteche
Quarriaus traient au cliqueter:
Et font l'espringale gieter,
Le garros, qui lors de la ist,
Les plus viguercus esbaist."

And again:—

"Et font jeter leurs espringales
Li garrot empenné d'airain,"

from which Ducange conjectures that the "garrot" was the larger bolt thrown by the springald, and feathered with brass, while the smaller quarrel was winged with feathers.

the front of the castle of a Flemish ship called "L'Orgueilleuse," which was manned by the sons of the rich burghers of Bruges, who are said to have ostentatiously placed silver trumpets in the castle, carried off an arm of a trumpeter, pierced another of them through the body, and after throwing down several other trumpeters, fell into the hold.

The battle now raged with great violence, the soldiers in the tops hurling stones as large as loaves upon the Flemings, who, under cover of their shields, strove in vain to shoot them. To the right of the French fleet, and a little in advance of it, three of the Spanish vessels were attacked by seven large Flemish ships, but they made a gallant resistance against this unequal force. Pedrogue, perceiving "L'Orgueilleuse" at the extremity of the Flemish line, hastened against her, followed by a Norman vessel called "La Jeanette," and boarded her. After a feeble defence, the "vaunting" burghers deserted their bulwarks, and Pedrogue carried off his antagonist.

Though nearly dusk, the combat still continued with unabated fury. On board two of the French ships Pedrogue caused pieces of wood to be lighted at one end and thrown on board the enemy. Falling on the crowded decks, these firebrands occasioned great confusion; while the soldiers in the tops of the French vessels were enabled by the light of the burning sticks to pick off with their cross-bows and stones all who attempted to escape. The three Spanish vessels at the other end of the line still defended themselves against the seven Flemish ships; but those vessels were partly manned by Hollanders, who, becoming terrified, availed themselves of the darkness

to escape to the Flemish ships; and the Spaniards, finding themselves deserted by their Dutch comrades, imitated their example by transferring themselves to the French vessels; and the Spanish ships, thus abandoned, fell into the enemy's hands.

Midnight had now arrived, with but little intermission of the fight, which was more particularly kept up from the tops of the ships. Pedrogue ordered more lighted wood to be thrown into the enemies' vessels; but the Flemings being at length exhausted, their armour broken, and many of them slain, cast off the cables by which they were lashed to the French ships, and retreated down the river, scattered and in such disorder, that "one would say," adds Guiart, "that their only thought was flight." During the battle the admiral remained in the rear with the galleys, sending reinforcements from time to time; and though the French fleet had suffered severely, not a single ship quitted her station.

The Count of Flanders tried in vain to dispatch fresh troops from his camp, and it was not until near sun-rise that he succeeded in rallying his ships, when some were seen approaching with their banners and pennons displayed. During the night, Grimaldi, wishing to ascertain the exact state of the Flemish fleet, went on board a galiot[a] and took with him about forty cross-bow men. Guided by the noise in the Flemish ships, he approached sufficiently near to perceive their condition,[b] and overjoyed with the discovery, he returned to his galleys, and immediately gave orders for the crews

[a] "En un galiot."

[b] Guiart says the Flemish ships were "one here, another there:" —"Une nef est cà, autre là."

to arm and renew the fight, and for the vessels to get under weigh. The sides, castles, and tops of the galleys were filled with brave soldiers; and the rowers seizing their oars, pulled with "a thundering noise." An unfortunate straggler from the Flemish fleet became the object of assault by the whole of the galleys. Grimaldi boarded her in person, cutting down all who offered resistance, and she soon became his prize. A second and a third ship shared the same fate; but when a fourth was assailed, the Count of Flanders, seeing the effect of allowing his ships to be separately attacked, made sail in his own ship to meet the French admiral, and was followed by part of his fleet. Again horns and trumpets resounded. With great intrepidity Count Guy placed his ship and her second in the midst of the French galleys, and approached so close to their admiral, that he broke the wings on one side.[a] A desperate conflict ensued, and such was the din produced by the trumpets, the shouts of the combatants, and the strokes of weapons, that "one could not have heard God thunder."[b] The Flemings boarded Grimaldi's galley, but were driven back with great loss, and the rest of the galleys hastened to the assistance of their admiral, while many companies of French soldiers proceeded to those vessels in boats and small barges.[c] These reinforcements disheartened the Flemings, and their two vessels separated. Still, however, the fight continued, amidst cries of "Montjoie!" "Calais!" "Normandy!" and "Holland!" but the Flemings at last gave way, and soon

[a] This expression is not very clear:

"Qu'ele en esmie, et fait quasser
Du lonc de l'un costè les eles."

[b] "Que l'en n'i oïst Dieu tonnant."

[c] "Es batiaus et ès bargetes."

after surrendered. No mercy was shewn them. Remembering Courtrey, where the flower of France were massacred, the French refused every offer of ransom, and were deaf to the cries and prayers, and insensible to the tears of their prisoners. To their supplications for pity, they received but one stern reply: "Ye shall have none but such as ye gave the good Count d'Artois;"[a] and the unfortunate crews of the two ships were inhumanly butchered with swords, lances, and misericordes.

The gallant Count of Flanders alone was spared. Having been captured by one of Pedrogue's soldiers, he was conducted to the Admiral, and ordered to remain in his galley. The French then landed and took possession of Zuriczee; and soon after Pedrogue returned to Calais, and Grimaldi proceeded to Boulogne.[b]

Some of the payments for the Naval service, with which the fiscal records abound, will show the nature of those entries. In July 1314, Master Alexander de Convers received 1200*l.* for the wages of the mariners going to the Isles of Scotland from Bristol and other places.[c] In 1315, Richard Cauncedon, master of the barge "Mary and Henry," of New Hythe, and the master of the ship "Godyere," of Westminster, were paid part of the sum of 61*l.* due to the one, and of 69*l.* due to the other, for the wages of themselves and their sailors serving in Scotland. Payments of

[a] Robert Count of Artois was slain in the battle gained by the Flemings over the French at Courtrey, on the 1st of July, 1302.

[b] Chronique Métrique de Guillaume Guiart, ed. Buchon, tome VIII. pp. 348—400.

[c] Issue Roll, 8 Edw. II. ed. Devon, p. 127.

40*s.* were made to each of the masters of the King's ships "Peter, "Bernard," "Marioun," and of 10*l.* to the master of the "Katherine," all of Westminster, and of other ships, for their equipment. At the same time Sir John Sturmy received 25*l.* of the 125*l.* which he had expended in repairing the King's ship, the "Christopher," of Westminster, and 20*l.* for the wages of the masters of another of the King's ships, and of two of his barges.[a]

In 1316 the constable of Dover was paid 54*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for fourteen large ships and six boats, employed in conveying the King's ambassadors from Dover to Whitsand;[b] and in the following year 128*l.* were paid for the wages of the five masters, five constables, and three hundred and twenty-three armed sailors belonging to five ships in the King's service in Scotland for one month, each master and constable receiving sixpence, and each sailor threepence a day.[c]

In August 1324 Sir Robert Beudyn and Sir John Sturmy, admirals of the King's fleet, were each paid 10*l.* for their expenses in going in his service; and Stephen Alard, of Winchelsea, received 55*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* for the repairs of the ship "La Nicholase."

The "keepers of the passage of the port of Dover" were paid 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, in June 1324, for the freight of the ship that brought Hugh, Seigneur de Boyville, the King of France's chamberlain, to England; and 16*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* were paid to the same officers for the hire of six ships and one barge and one boat which con-

[a] Issue Roll, Michaelmas Term, 9 Edw. II.

[b] Wardrobe Accounts, 10 Edw. II.; Archæologia, vol. xxvi.

[c] Wardrobe Accounts, 11 Edw. II.; Archæologia, vol. xxvi.

veyed the Earl of Kent, the King's brother, from Dover to Whitsand, when going on an embassy to France.[a] The expenses attending the passage of persons from Dover to Whitsand are, however, more fully shewn by the sums paid for Master John de Shoreditch, who was sent on a mission to France in 1324, namely, for the ship that conveyed him and his four horses, 40*s.*; for customs, portage, and pontage at Dover and Whitsand, and for the hire of a ship and a boat for his return, 4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, on which occasion the customs, portage, and pontage amounted to 8*s.* 6*d.* In 1323 an agreement was made respecting the profits of the barons of Dover arising from the passage between that port and Whitsand.[b]

When a sea-port from which a ship was required for the King's service was too poor to furnish it, the neighbouring towns were ordered to contribute for the purpose: thus, in 1310, when the inhabitants of Dartmouth declared that they were unable to maintain a ship and its crew, orders were sent to the people of Totness, Brixham, Portlemouth, and Kingsbridge to assist those of Dartmouth on the occasion. Similar commands were sent to Plympton, Modbury, Newton Ferrers, and Yalmouth, to assist the inhabitants of Sutton; and to those of Topsham, Levenston, Pratshide, Kenton, Powderham, and other members of the port of Exmouth, to contribute to the ship which the city of Exeter had granted the King.[c]

[a] Issue Roll for Easter Term, 17 Edw. II.

[b] Rot. Patent, 17 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 29.

[c] Rot. Scot. i. 90, 91. 125, *et passim.*

In May 1314, the three ships which Southampton had sent for the war being deficient in cables, anchors, masts, ropes, and other rigging, the mayor and bailiffs were directed to furnish what were necessary, and the Crown would pay for them.[a] In 1322 the burgesses of Ravenesrode[b] and Grimsby presented a petition, stating that the King had commanded them to find two ships and two barges for his service, with double shipping, for forty days at their cost, which were ready to sail, and praying to be excused from serving by land, on account of the danger to which their towns would be exposed in their absence from the enemies' ships then at sea. They were answered, that the King wished those who were appointed to serve at sea to do so as strenuously as they could; and as to the other point, they were to act as the rest of the people did.[c]

The inhabitants of Great and Little Yarmouth, Lynn, and Sandwich stated in their petition, that they had granted the King their ships at their own cost for eight weeks to proceed to Scotland, which were ready

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 126.

[b] No such place as Ravenrode, which is often mentioned, is to be found in any modern map or Gazetteer. "The history of Ravenrod is extremely singular, the short space of a century and a half having witnessed its origin, its rise to celebrity as a sea-port, and its final destruction by the encroachments of the sea. It was considered to be within the parish of Easington, though at the distance of four miles from that town, with Kilnsea, Sunthorp (now no more), and the manor of old Ravenser intervening. It was originally an island, formed by an accidental accumulation of sand and stones, thrown up at the distance of more than a mile from the south-east extremity of Holdernesse. The only communication between it and the main land was by a sandy road of the breadth of a bow-shot, covered with round yellow stones, and scarcely raised above the level of the waves, beaten on the east by the sea, and on the west by the tides of the Humber." Frost's History of Hull, p. 55.

[c] Rot. Parl. p. 405.

and equipped; but that he had also ordered them to fit out all their other ships, without regard to fishing or any thing else in the world, at his wages, the moment they could be got ready, the which ships, as well fishing-vessels as others, had been arrested by John Perbroun, admiral of the fleet. They therefore prayed the King to inform them how many ships he wished to have besides those first granted, and they should be ready at his wages to go wherever he pleased; or that he would allow them to go with their ships to make their own profit, for otherwise they would be ruined for ever. They added, that they supposed the King had enough ships by their first grant to protect the coast, and to do all that was necessary. The King complied with their request, by stating the number of ships he required beyond those first granted, so that the others might, he said, go fishing for their advantage and the advantage of the realm.[a]

In reply to a complaint made by the King of France on behalf of two merchants of Dieppe, that they had sent a ship laden with various goods to be sold in Scotland, and to buy other merchandise there, during the truce between that country and England, the which vessel on her return was forced into Ravensrode by stress of weather and there seized, only because she came from a Scottish port, and that it was still under arrest, Edward stated, on the 4th of August 1310, that all communication between English subjects and Scotland was prohibited during the said truce; but, although he might justly punish those merchants for adhering to

[a] Rot. Parl. I. 414.

his enemies, yet he had this time, in compliance with Philip's request, commanded the prisoners with their ship and goods to be released. He earnestly entreated the French monarch, however, to prevent his subjects from having any intercourse with his Scottish enemies.[a]

By a charter, dated on the 26th of July 1313, King Edward the Second confirmed all the grants made to the Cinque Ports by his predecessors, with this addition, that, though they had not hitherto freely used any of the liberties or freedoms contained in the previous charters, yet that the barons, their heirs and successors, might fully enjoy the same without any impediment from the King, or his heirs, or his ministers.[b]

Beacons were erected along all the sea-coast, to give an alarm on the approach of the enemy; and in August 1326, when the arrayers of men-at-arms in Kent complained to the King of the grievance of having to keep watch and maintain fires or other signals for assembling troops, though it was no longer necessary, they were released from that obligation throughout England; but the inhabitants of the sea-coasts were, nevertheless, enjoined to light up such signals whenever it was requisite for the safety of those parts.[c]

The right of the Crown to "great fish" has been stated;[d] and it appears that King Henry had granted all the "great fish" found in the lands of the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to them, except the tongue, which he reserved for himself. In February 1326 the Bishop, Dean, and

[a] Fœdera, II. 448.

[b] Jeak's Charters of the Cinque Ports, p. 42.

[c] Fœdera, II. 636. Some remarks on beacons will be found in the "Archæologia," vol. I. p. 1, XIII. p. 100, 176, XV. 302.

[d] "Crassus piscis." Vide p. 72, *ante*.

Chapter complained to the King, that one of those fish called a whale,[a] which had been taken in their manor of Walton, was carried off by thirty-two "malefactors," who are named; and he therefore appointed three justices to hear and determine the matter by a jury.[b]

Among the charges brought against Sir Henry Tyes, constable of Carisbrook Castle, and "enprovour" of the Isle of Wight, in Parliament, in 1320, was his having demanded half the value of the cargo of a Portuguese ship, worth 4100*l*., which was wrecked at Brigheston, in that island, to allow the owners to preserve the other half, whereby the lord was not rightly used.[c]

In November 1323 an ordinance was made for the better government of Ireland, and among the privileges conceded to the people was the following relating to shipping and merchandise:—Neither the justiciary, nor any other of the King's officers, was in future to arrest any ships or goods, whether belonging to foreigners or natives; but all merchants and others might export corn and other provisions and goods from Ireland to England and Wales, except in urgent cases, for the general benefit of the country, paying the accustomed duties; provided, however, that they gave security that they would not go to, or communicate with, the Scotch or the King's other enemies.[d]

Though England was at peace with Flanders, the

[a] "Dicitur cete."

[b] Fœdera, II. 619. In 1315 three sailors were paid 20*s*. for taking a whale near London Bridge; and in the next year a fishmonger of London received half a mark for a sturgeon which his men had caught near Woolwich, and which he afterwards salted, placed in a barrel, and gave to the King. Issue Roll, 8 & 9 Ed. II., ed. Devon, pp. 126, 130.

[c] Rot. Parl. I. 384.

[d] Ibid. p. 458.

aggressions committed by the sailors of the two countries upon each other's vessels and merchandise could scarcely have been greater or more frequent in actual war. All the attempts of the respective governments to put an end to those proceedings had failed, until such flagrant robberies of Flemish ships by some English "malefactors" occurred off Craudon and Orwell by the men of Rye, that the Count of Flanders and the King of England mutually determined to adopt decisive measures on the subject. Commissioners were appointed on both sides; and on the 17th of November 1311 an arrangement was agreed to for rendering justice to the Flemings. Further proceedings took place in 1314;[a] and in October 1320 three Flemish envoys arrived in London during the sitting of Parliament, when a treaty was concluded, which is of great historical if not national importance, from its containing the first positive evidence, now extant, of the admission by foreigners of the right of the King of England to the sovereignty of the narrow seas. After stating that divers merchants of Flanders, who were proceeding "on the sea of England near Craudon,"[b] had been robbed of their wines and merchandise, of great value, by evil-doers of England,[c] and that the goods so robbed had been brought to this country, the envoys prayed the King, "of his lordship and royal power, to cause right to be done and punishment awarded, as he is lord of the sea, and the robbery was committed on the sea within his power as is above said."[d]

[a] Rot. Parl. i. 356—359.

[b] "Sur la mere d'Engleterre, devers les parties de Craudon."

[c] "Par mefesours d'Engleterre."

[d] "Et prierent que le Roi, de sa seignurie et poer real, fait sente dreit et punissement del dit fait, de siccome il est seigneur de la mer, et la dite roberie fut fait sur la mer dans son poer, sicomme dessus est dit."

The King and his council in Parliament,[a] with the assent of the peers, agreed to appoint justices to investigate the matter; and stated that it was their intention that the captains of the ships[b] who were present at the robbery, those who were cognisant of the fact, and those who harboured the robbers or their goods, should be promptly punished according to law, and their property given to the Flemings who had been injured.[c]

On the 13th of December 1320 Sir Bartholomew de Badlesmere, keeper of the Cinque Ports, William de Scothon, his lieutenant, and others, were commanded to institute an inquiry respecting the pillaging of a Flemish ship laden with wines and other merchandise, alleged to have been committed "by men of England on the sea of England, off the coast of Crauden, within the jurisdiction of the King of England, and her cargo carried to England and there received."[d] A statement of the circumstance, and of the previous proceedings, follows the record of that mandate; and it agrees precisely with the document above referred to, except that the former is in French, and the latter in Latin.[e]

It is remarkable that Selden should not state where

[a] No notice of this proceeding occurs on the Rolls of Parliament in the 14th Ed. II.

[b] "Seigneurs des nefs."

[c] Fœdera, II. 434.

[d] "Super mare Anglicanum, versus partes de Crauden, infra potestatem dicti domini nostri Regis, per homines de regno Angl'. Ut dicebant facta asserentes quod vina et mercimonia prædicta eisdem Flandrensibus deprædata adducta fuerunt infra regnum et potestatem dicti domini Regis, et quod ipse est dominus dicti maris, et deprædatio prædicta facta fuit supra dictum mare infra potestatem suam." Rot. Patent. 14 Ed. II. pt. II. m. 26. d.

[e] Selden, who devotes a chapter to this document, entitled "a recognition or acknowledgment of the sea dominion of the Kings of England, made by the Flemings, in an embassy to Edward the Second," (Mare Clausum, b. ii. chap. XXIX.) does not notice the French record.

"Crauden"[a] is situated. There was no place of that name on the sea-coast of England, nor in any part of Edward the Second's territories; and it appears to have been the small sea-port since called "Crowdon," in Brittany, lying on the extreme part of the Point du Raz, about eight leagues west of Quimper, where the fleets returning to England from Gascony with wines frequently took shelter[b] in contrary winds and bad weather. The admission of the Flemings, that the vicinity of Crowdon was part of the sea of England, and under the jurisdiction of the King of England, appears therefore to carry the "English sea" to an extent not hitherto claimed for it, and gives additional importance to those records. The recognition by the Flemings is entitled to the more weight, from its having been entirely voluntary on their part; and though it was their interest to fix the responsibility of the outrage upon England, it is not probable that an admission of a great national right would have been spontaneously made, unless it were considered to be indisputable.

[a] Though then usually written "Crauden," it occurs as "Carondon," "Crasdon," and "Grasdon" in the record of the proceedings on the Rolls of Parliament in 1315.

[b] See the "Journal of Bishop Beckington in 1442" (8vo. 1828), which will be again referred to.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, AND OTHER NAVAL OFFICERS IN THE REIGNS OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST AND SECOND. — SEAMEN. — IMPRESSMENT. — BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF ADMIRALS.

MUCH has been written on the derivation of the word "ADMIRAL,"[a] and the nature and duties of the office have been investigated by the most learned writers of this country; but some new information of considerable interest has been discovered on the subject.

It will have been seen that at an early period of

[a] Spelman appears to think the most probable derivation of "Admiral" was "from the Arabic *amir*, 'a chief,' and the Greek ἅλιος, 'marine,' making 'admiralius' or 'amiralius,' *i. e.* a marine chief or prefect, as the word ἅλιος is read in Homer for Neptune, the ruler of the sea." "Or it may," he observes, "come from the Arabic *al-miro*, 'the chief captain.' It did not, however, always mean the chief, for it was often used to express the inferior officer of the 'magnus dux;' and Curopalates says, 'the admiral is under the "magnus dux"—agit autem universam classem.' The title was also frequently given to landsmen, the tyrant of Babylon being styled 'amiralius.' Concerning these land admirals, Robert the Monk, who lived in 1095, says, in his 'History of the Saracen War,' 'Those whom they call admirals are kings who preside over the provinces of countries.' In the beginning of the following book the King of Babylon is styled 'Our Lord the Admiral of Babylon.' Monstrelet also speaks of 'arcubalistariorum admiralls.'" ("Glossary," *in voce* "Admiral.")

Lord Coke agrees with Spelman: he says "*Maritina Angliæ*, and since, *marina Angliæ*, signifies the admiralship or marinship of England; for *marinus id est quod* θαλάσσιος, that is, 'of the sea;' and θαλασσιάρχος is the admiral or general of the fleet; and *almarah*, by corruption admiral, signifies the governor-captain of the navy. And so *archigubernus* signifies the admiral or chief governor of the captains of the navy: chief captain of mariners, admiral of the fleet, admiral of the ships, &c., *sunt synonima*." (12th Report, p. 80. See also the Fourth Institute, p. 147.)

English history the commanders of fleets were styled "leaders and governors," or "justices," or "leaders and constables"[a] of fleets; and that in the reign of King Henry the Third, and until the latter part of that of Edward the First, their usual designation was "keepers of the sea-coast," or "captains and keepers of the sea."[b] In 1277 the fleet of the Cinque Ports, which was sent against the Welch, was commanded by two captains styled "captains over the fleet of eighteen ships of the Cinque Ports."[c] In June 1294 Sir William Leybourne was appointed "captain of the King's sailors and mariners of the Cinque Ports, and likewise of Yarmouth, Bayonne, Ireland, and Wales, and all other ports and places at which ships or boats touch within the realm, as well as of all the soldiers, who were about to proceed in a fleet against the King's enemies." Power was given to him and his deputies to impress men, ships, barges, boats, provisions, and armour, and whatever else might be necessary for the expedition. All persons were commanded to be obedient, assistant, and responsive to him as captain of the said sailors, mariners, soldiers, and others, and also to his deputies;"[d] and it is probable that Sir John de Botetourt received a similar commission to command a fleet on the northern coast of England.

The title of Admiral has not been found in any contemporary record in this country until the year 1300; but the term was certainly used some time before in France; and on the 8th of March 1297

[a] Vide p. 87, *ante*.

[b] Vide copies and translations of these commissions in the APPENDIX.

[c] Vide pp. 265, 266, *ante*.

[d] Rot. Vascon. 22 Edw. I. m. 8. Vide APPENDIX.

Sir William Leybourne was styled "admiral of the sea of the King of England," in a convention executed at Bruges.[a]

In September 1300 Gervase Alard, the commander of the ships of the Cinque Ports serving in King Edward the First's expedition to Scotland, was described in the Wardrobe Accounts of that year as "Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports." Thenceforward the title continually occurs, but it was generally joined with that of "captain;" sometimes "admiral and captain," but more frequently "captain and admiral."

Most, if not all the commissions issued to commanders of fleets, until the end of the reign of Edward the Second, have been examined for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, the powers and duties of those officers, and the distinction between "captain" and "admiral."

The first commission to an Admiral, of which there is any record, was granted by King Edward the First, in February 1303, to Gervase Alard, who was described by that title in 1300. On the 4th of February 1303 letters-patent were issued to all sheriffs, bailiffs, and others, the King's subjects, informing them that he had appointed Gervase Alard "captain and admiral of his fleet of the ships of his Cinque Ports, and also of all other ports from the port of Dover by the sea-coast, and of the whole county of Cornwall," to proceed in his service to the parts of Scotland, during his pleasure; and commanding them to be obedient and

[a] Vide p. 279, *ante*. Spelman says, erroneously, that this convention was made in the 15 Edw. I. 1286. ("Glossary," *in voce* "Admiral.")

responsive to, and counselling and assisting the said Gervase as to the King's captain and admiral of the said fleet in all things which unto that office of captain and admiral appertain, as the said Gervase would make known to them on his behalf.[a] It is certain, from the terms of this instrument, that the office of "captain and admiral" was not then created for the first time; and, though no other document of that date and purport is recorded to have been issued to Alard, it may, perhaps, be doubted whether this was the commission itself. Instead of actually appointing him the King's "captain and admiral," and being directed to himself, it is addressed to all the King's subjects, for the purpose of informing them of the fact, and to enjoin them to obey and assist him in that capacity. Moreover, the instrument is entitled "of obeying the admiral of the fleet of ships of the Cinque Ports." On the 5th of June 1306 Alard was re-appointed to the same office by a patent in precisely the same words; and by a similar patent Edward Charles was then constituted "captain and admiral of the King's fleet of ships of the ports and towns from the mouth of the Thames by the sea-coast, to the northern ports as far as Berwick on Tweed."[b] The title of these two patents,—"of admirals of the fleet of ships appointed,"—differs from that of the preceding one; but no inference can be drawn from that circumstance, as to whether they were or were not the only commissions issued on the occasion.[c]

The next appointment was undoubtedly a com-

[a] Rot. Patent. 34 Edw. I. Vide the APPENDIX.

[b] Ibid. p. 449.

[c] In some instances, however, the party is said to have been appointed by a similar instrument to those alluded to.

mission, as it was addressed to the officer himself, described the duties he was to perform, and contained an injunction to those under his command to obey and assist him. On the 10th of July King Edward the Second appointed William le Betour "captain of the mariners of his ships" of Hartlepool, Newcastle, and other northern ports going to the relief of the castle of Aberdeen; and the masters and crews of those ships were directed to obey him, and to proceed with him, well equipped with arms, to perform that duty.[a]

In June 1310 Sir John Caunton was appointed "captain and governor of the King's fleet of ships" which were ordered from divers parts of the realm to Perth, for the defence of that town. But this instrument, like those to Alard and Charles in 1306, was addressed to all the King's subjects, and was followed by another, which commences thus—"And the masters and mariners of the said ships," and "commands them" to be obedient and responsive to the same John, as captain and governor of the fleet aforesaid."[a]

On the 6th of August in the same year Sir Simon de Montacute was made "captain and governor" of a fleet by two similar instruments; and, by a third writ, the bailiffs and all other the King's officers were commanded to aid and assist him.[b] Though Montacute was not styled "admiral" in any of those documents, he is described as "admiral of the King's navy" in another instrument dated on the 2nd of that month.[c]

In June 1311, and afterwards, the title of "Admiral" was generally given to commanders of squadrons and

[a] Vide APPENDIX. [b] Rot. Scot. I. 92. [c] Vide APPENDIX.

fleets, united, however, with that of "captain." On the 1st of that month the King informed all his subjects that he had appointed Sir John of Argyle "admiral and captain" of his fleet of ships, which by his command Argyle was about to conduct to the coast of Argyle, Inchgale, and other parts of Scotland, during his pleasure; and by another writ of privy seal all masters and mariners of the King's fleet were commanded to obey him as their "admiral and captain."

The next appointment of Admirals is very remarkable. On the 12th of March 1314 the King informed all sheriffs, bailiffs, and others that he had constituted and appointed his two beloved valets, John Sturmy and Peter Bard, jointly and separately, "captains and admirals of his fleet," as well of his own ships as others of the northern ports which were about to proceed in his service to Scotland, giving to the same John and Peter, and either of them, "full power of chastising and punishing transgressors in that fleet, as to the office of captain and admiral of such fleet appertained." All sheriffs, bailiffs, and others were commanded to be obedient and responsive, and to counsel and aid them or either of them, as captain and admiral of the King's fleet, in all things which appertained to that office.[a]

From this document, as well as from some others, it appears that the command of a fleet and the office of "captain and admiral" were sometimes granted to two or more persons, to be exercised by one or both; but a still more remarkable clause is that which specially gives them authority to punish offenders. As that power was indispensable, as it had long been exer-

[a] Vide APPENDIX.

cised, and as it is here expressly said to be incidental to the office of "captain and admiral," it is singular that it should have been inserted in this instrument. No such clause has been found in any other commission issued in this reign;[a] and, as Sir John Sturmy and his colleague were afterwards reprimanded for not enforcing discipline in their squadron, it may, perhaps, be inferred, that there was much insubordination at the period; and that this emphatic allusion to punishment, in a document which was most likely publicly proclaimed throughout England, was intended to inspire fear into the minds of the sailors.

Were it not that there is strong evidence that the title of "captain" was inferior to that of admiral, inasmuch as in 1300, when Gervase Alard was described as admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, four other persons, each called "captain of the sailors of the Cinque Ports," were serving apparently under his command in Scotland,[b] the following facts would be considered to prove that "captain" was then the superior office, and which would agree with the present use of the expression of "captain-general."

On the 15th of March 1315 Sir John of Argyle was re-appointed "captain" (not "captain and admiral") of the King's fleet going to Scotland; and on the same day William de Creye and Thomas Hewys, "admirals" (not "captains and admirals") of the King's ships which he was about to send to Scotland, were commanded to be obedient and responsive to the said John as "captain of the fleet of ships" on that

[a] A similar provision occurs, however, in the appointment of an Admiral in the first year of the reign of Edward the Third, and which will be noticed hereafter.

[b] Vide p. 295, *ante*.

service. The masters and mariners were likewise directed to obey John of Argyle as their "captain."[a]

On the 29th of May following, William de Creye was appointed "captain and admiral" of all the King's fleet of ships of the Cinque Ports, and of the western parts of England, and coasts of Ireland and Wales, which was about to proceed against the Scots. The masters and mariners of those ships were enjoined to obey him as "captain and admiral" of the King's said fleet: yet on the 3rd of June the King sent a writ of privy seal to the masters and mariners of the ships of the Cinque Ports going to Scotland, stating that he had appointed William de Creye "admiral of the fleet" about to go to Scotland, and John of Argyle "captain" of them (the masters and sailors) and of the said fleet, as was more fully shewn in the letters-patent granted to the said William and John. They were, therefore, directed to obey De Creye as "admiral" and Argyle as "captain" of the said fleet and men. These documents leave no doubt that the office of "captain" was distinct from that of "admiral," and they raise a strong presumption that the former was of the greater importance. In March, when De Creye was merely an "admiral," he was ordered to obey Argyle, the "captain" of the fleet; but it is not so certain that Argyle retained his superiority after De Creye was made "captain and admiral" under the new commission of the 3rd of June, more especially as in July John de Athy was ordered to obey De Creye as "chief admiral."[b]

The commission containing the most ample powers to any naval officer in this reign was that which was issued

[a] Vide APPENDIX. [b] Rot. Scot. I. 146. Vide APPENDIX.

to John Lord Botetourt on the 15th of March 1315, and which was very similar to the commission granted twenty-one years before to Sir William Leybourne. The King declared to all sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers, and his other subjects, that he had appointed his beloved and faithful John Botetourt "admiral and captain" of his sailors and mariners of all ports from the mouth of the Thames to Berwick-on-Tweed, and also of all soldiers and others who were about to proceed in his fleet against the Scots. He, and those whom he might depute, were authorised to seize and take with him men, ships, barges, boats, provisions, armour, and other necessaries for that expedition.[a]

Another form of appointment occurred in July 1315, when John de Athy was made "captain and leader" of eleven ships of Bristol, and also of their crews, going to Scotland; and he and they were enjoined to obey William de Creye, whom the King had lately appointed "chief admiral" of all the ships belonging to the western part of the kingdom proceeding in his service to Scotland.[a]

Only one other commission is deserving of particular attention, on account of its differing from those already referred to, namely, the appointment of three persons in 1319 as "admirals and captains" of some ships going against the Scots, which was in these words:—"We, confiding in the fidelity and industry of our beloved Simon de Dryby, William de Thewell, and Robert Ashman, appoint the said Simon, William, and Robert, two and [or] one of them, admirals and captains, or admiral and captain of the said ships, and of the men in them."[a]

[a] Vide APPENDIX.

All commissions were to be operative "during the King's pleasure;" and they seem, from the frequency with which they were renewed, to have soon expired. Those who are conversant with the commissions granted to officers at the present day will not fail to observe how similar they are to the commissions of former times. They contain the same reliance on the loyalty, ability, and good conduct of the officer, the same recital of his duties, and the same injunctions to obey his superiors, and to be obeyed by his inferiors.

Lord Coke[a] and Prynne[b] consider that the Court of Admiralty existed long before the reign of Edward the Third, to which period Coke says he found it assigned by Lambert in his "Treatise on the Jurisdiction of Courts," because a case was tried in the time of Edward the First to recover a ship taken on the sea off the coast of Scarborough, and carried to Norfolk, when Chief Justice Beresford[c] is reported to have said, that the sea was within the jurisdiction of the Admiral.[d] That case, however, only proves that the title of Admiral existed in England at the commencement of the fourteenth century, which has been shewn by more conclusive evidence. It will not escape observation, how much the preceding inquiry into the title of Admiral tends to shake the authenticity of the "Black Book of the Admiralty."[e]

When Admirals were appointed, the same powers seem to have been given to them as had been previously exercised by the keepers of the sea-coasts; but

[a] Twelfth Report, 79—81; Fourth Institute, 140.

[b] Animadversions, p. 112.

[c] Though William de Beresford was made a justice of the Common Pleas in 1294, he did not become hief justice until the year 1309, which tends to show that this case occurred in the reign of Edward the Second.

[d] Fitzherbert's Abridgment, avowry 192.

[e] Vide pp. 72, 73, 156, *ante*.

it is extremely doubtful whether any regular court for the trial of marine causes was then established; and it is most probable that the keepers of the coast and admirals administered justice and preserved the King's peace within the limits of their jurisdiction, either summarily or after an investigation of the facts by a jury of honest and competent mariners. This opinion is supported by the following proceedings. In 1324, the master of a ship of Placentia having complained to the King, that, while on his voyage to Flanders, the vessel was robbed at sea by some malefactors of Bristol, the King commanded Robert[a] Beudyn, admiral of his fleet on the coast of Aquitaine, to restore the ship and cargo to the master; and the admiral, by virtue of the said mandate, ordered an inquest to be held "by the oath of mariners," who found that thirteen men of Bristol had robbed the master of goods of the value of 40*l.* The delinquents were accordingly directed to be arrested, and restitution to be made; but on a subsequent trial by a jury before the Mayor of Bristol, one of the accused persons was acquitted, and the others declared guilty.[b]

The pay of all the naval commanders, at the end of the thirteenth century, is not stated, but Gervase Alard, Admiral of the ships of the Cinque Ports in 1299, received two shillings a day, which was that of a Knight serving in the field; and it is most probable that Sir John Botetourt and Sir William Leybourne received their usual daily wages of four shillings as bannerets.

CAPTAINS, as distinct officers from "Captain and Admiral" or commander of a fleet, or of a ship, first occur in 1300, when the four "Captains of the Sailors

[a] Erroneously called "John" in the printed record.

[b] Abbrev. Placit., Trinity Term, 18 Edw. II. p. 353.

of the Cinque Ports," belonging to the ships serving in Scotland, are mentioned, but of their precise duties nothing is known. It is, however, likely that they each commanded a division of the fleet. That they were of higher consideration than the masters or rectors of ships, is evident from their title of "Captain," and from their pay being half that of the admiral, and twice as much as that of the masters, namely, one shilling a-day,—the same wages as those of an esquire in the army.

The other Naval officers at this period were "Masters," "Rectors," "Constables," and two, if not three classes of "Comites" or "Comitres."

MASTERS.—Though in the preceding reign more than one master sometimes belonged to a large ship,[a] the appellation seems at this time to have been confined to the commander of vessels, whether belonging to the King or to any of the Ports.

"RECTORS."—This designation for a naval officer appears to have fallen into desuetude in the early part of the reign of Edward the First, before which time it usually meant the commander of a small vessel; but it was sometimes another title for the "masters," (not commanders) of large ships.[b] In 1277 the great ships of the Cinque Ports are said to have had two rectors, one of whom was evidently the commander; while the smaller vessels had one rector (or commander) and one constable.[c]

Another term is "Lords of ships," the exact import of which is uncertain, for they may either have been the chief commanders or the owners.[d]

[a] Vide pp. 142, 143, *ante*.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Vide p. 290, *ante*.
[d] Vide pp. 351, 388, *ante*.

CONSTABLES of ships are first mentioned in 1277,[a] but the designation was, no doubt, of much earlier date; and it was used by Hoveden, in the time of Richard the First, to describe the commanders of a fleet.[b] There seems to have been one constable to about every score of men, and the necessity of having other officers besides the commander of a ship is obvious. It is presumed that the constable acted in sailing-vessels as the modern boatswain or "sailing master;" and his title suggests that it may have been derived from his having carried a staff, as boatswains long carried a cane, to inflict summary punishment upon the idle or disobedient. The importance of the constable is shewn by his receiving the same pay as the master of the ship, namely, sixpence a day, which were the wages of horse and foot archers. There were also constables in the army, who were mounted, and were paid sixpence a day each if his horse were caparisoned, and one shilling if it were not caparisoned.[c]

COMITES or COMITRES were officers peculiar to galleys; and, as has been before observed, they superintended and directed the rowers, and were probably in galleys what the constable was in ships, cogs, and other sailing-vessels. Comitres were divided into two classes, and their wages were fifteen esterlings a day, being rather more than those of the English constables.

MAGNI.[d]—Of the functions and station of this officer nothing has been discovered; but, as his pay was the same, so his duties were probably as important

[a] Vide p. 290, *ante*.
[b] Vide p. 87, *ante*.
[c] "Cum equus coopertis," "cum equo discooperto."—Wardrobe Accounts, 28 Edw. I. pp. 241 *et seq.*
[d] Vide p. 285, *ante*.

and his rank as high as that of the comites and constables.

The CHAPLAIN of the fleet, whose duties extended to every ship, had the same pay as the commander and constables, namely, sixpence daily.[a]

English SEAMEN received threepence a day, which was more than the common foot-soldier, who had but twopence, and less than the mechanics, the wages of carpenters, masons, smiths, and sawyers being fourpence; but plasterers and miners had no more than threepence. The rowers and mariners in the Bayonne galleys received six esterlings, and the crossbow-men embarked in them nine esterlings.[b] The number of the crew of various kinds of vessels has been already stated.[c]

The crews of English ships were certainly raised by impressment, for, though a different expression is generally used in the mandates commanding men, from that which directed ships to be obtained for the Crown, their service was compulsory. The King's officers were always ordered to "arrest and seize"[d] such vessels as were required, and to "select"[e] the best and stoutest mariners and sailors to man them. This power of "selection" was to enable them to choose, from among the seafaring people of the ports and coasts to which they were sent, such as were fittest to serve; but no "selection" was necessary with respect to ships, because their instructions directed them either to "arrest and seize" all vessels, or those of a specified burthen. If, however, any doubt could exist as to the

[a] Vide p. 295, *ante*.
[b] Vide p. 285.
[c] Vide 294, 363, *et passim*.
[d] "Arrestandis et capiendis."
[e] "Eligendis."

meaning of the word "elegendis" in those mandates, it would be removed by the commissions to Sir William Leybourne in 1294, and to Sir John de Botetourt in 1315, by which they were empowered to seize and take with them men, ships, barges, and boats, provisions, and other things necessary for the expedition;[a] and by the clause in the letters of safe conduct granted to merchant ships, which provides that none of the crew should be impressed without the permission of the master.[a]

Impressment was not confined to ships and men; provisions, armour, and all other articles which the Crown required, were obtained by the same violent means, though payment was made for every thing except armour, which was restored to the owner when it was no longer wanted.[b] As might be supposed, these enormous powers were sometimes abused; and the following remarkable order, which was issued on the 7th of April 1314, shows that the King's admirals and captains had not only failed to proceed to their destination, but that they had omitted to pay for provisions, and had improperly arrested landsmen and others, and compelled them to pay money to be released:—

"The King to the masters of ships, mariners, and all others, being in his ships proceeding to the Scottish parts, greeting.—Whereas we have understood from several persons, that, after our departure for Scotland, and after you had left London with your ships, ye tarried and as yet still tarry with them in divers places in the Thames and elsewhere, and cause your prises to be taken of corn and other victuals without making any

[a] Vide APPENDIX. [b] Ibid.

satisfaction therefor; and likewise cause men to be chosen and seized every where at your will to go in the same ships, as well those who are not mariners nor know aught thereof, as others, and afterwards take fines from many of them to allow them to remain at home, and commit such other grievances daily as redound to our disgrace and scandal, and to the great hurt and grievance of our people: we command you, under forfeiture of life and limb, and of all other things which ye can forfeit to us, that ye cause the premises with all speed to be amended, and that ye allow nothing henceforth to be taken from any persons without making satisfaction, nor men to be chosen or compelled by land or sea to go with you to the Scottish parts with the ships aforesaid, against the form of our commission made thereupon to you; and we likewise command you, under the said forfeiture, that ye delay not to come to us with all speed to the parts aforesaid, as on our part to you is more fully enjoined, for we intend shortly to appoint certain of our faithful subjects to inquire how ye conducted yourselves after our departure from London, and if perchance it be found that ye shall have done aught contrary to our orders and the form of your commission, then we will cause you to be heavily punished according to your demerits, so that ye shall feel not undeservedly aggrieved thereat."

This order was sent to John Sturmy and Peter Bard jointly and severally captains and admirals of the King's fleet, and to the masters of twenty-eight cogs, barges, or ships.

Admirals, captains, masters, and mariners, like soldiers and others employed in the King's service,

obtained letters of protection and attorney;[a] and merchant ships carrying stores and provisions for the Crown received letters of safe conduct, or passports, commanding all persons in authority and others to aid and assist them, and protecting, by a special clause, the crew from impressment.[b]

In the writs for impressment of men for shipping, as well as in other documents, two classes of seafaring persons are frequently mentioned, namely, "sailors and mariners;"[c] but the distinction between them is nowhere stated. Possibly, however, the mariners were seafaring men who usually sailed in fishing and small coasting vessels, while the sailors were experienced seamen who made distant voyages in large ships. Military discipline was enforced in the King's fleet by the admirals, to whom power was expressly given to chastise and punish all offenders in the fleet;[d] and, as has just been stated, on one occasion the admirals were severely reprimanded for neglecting to do so. The nature of the punishment inflicted is not described; but it was probably then, as now, regulated by the "forms and customs observed at sea," and similar to those which prevailed in the reign of Richard the First.[e]

The names of only four persons, Sir John de Botetourt, Sir William Leybourne, Gervase Alard, and Edward Charles, are recorded as having been conspicuous in Naval affairs between 1272 and 1307; but it is not certain that any of them were present in the conflicts which have been described. According to modern authorities, however, Sir Robert Tiptoft

[a] Rot. Scot., *passim*.
[b] Ibid. Vide APPENDIX.
[c] "Nautæ et marinelli."
[d] Vide APPENDIX.
[e] Vide p. 89, *ante*.

commanded the fleet which captured the French ships in 1293; and, as the fact is probable, some account will also be given of him.

SIR JOHN DE BOTETOURT is supposed to have been the founder of his family, as the name and station of his parents are unknown.[a] He is first mentioned about 1291, when he was appointed governor of Briavel Castle, in Gloucestershire, and warden of the forest of Dean. In 1293 he was a justice of gaol delivery, and in the following year was made commander of the northern fleet. He was in Gascony in 1295: early in 1297 he was present at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Count of Holland, at Ipswich; and was in the wars of Scotland from 1298 to 1301. As he served in the King's army at the siege of the Castle of Caerlaverock, in June 1300, he is mentioned by the poetical historian of the event, who describes him as having a heart disposed to do good,—"Ke a tout bien faire a cuer lie,"—and says he bore a yellow banner and pennon charged with a black saltire engrailed. Though not recorded to have been summoned to Parliament as a Peer of the realm until 1305, he seems to have attained that rank a few years earlier, for he was one of the barons in the Parliament at Lincoln, who wrote the memorable letter to the Pope, denying his right to the sovereignty of Scotland, in which document he is styled "Lord of Mendlesham." In 1309 he was a justice of trailbaston, and soon after was again in the Scottish wars. By King Edward the Second he was re-appointed governor of Briavel Castle, and he joined many other

[a] From the memoir of Sir John de Botetourt in "the Siege of Caerlaverock," 4to. 1826, where all the authorities are given for these statements.

barons in an engagement to support the young monarch, his crown and dignity. In 1309 he was one of the Peers appointed to regulate the Royal household; soon after which time he became governor of Framlingham Castle, and bound himself to support the Earl of Warwick against Piers de Gaveston. Lord Botetourt was again admiral of the fleet in 1315; and in 1318 served against the Scots. In 1319 he was one of the barons at Northampton who treated with the Earl of Lancaster; and having been summoned to Parliament from July 1305 to September 1324, died in that year at an advanced age. He was succeeded in his honours by his grandson, John the second Lord Botetourt, on whose death, in 1385, the barony fell into and remained in abeyance until 1764, when it was allowed to one of his co-heirs, Mr. Norborne Berkeley. The dignity again fell into abeyance on his death, in 1776; but in 1803 it was granted to his nephew Charles, the fifth Duke of Beaufort, and is now enjoyed by his great-grandson, the present Duke of Beaufort.

SIR WILLIAM LEYBOURNE was the eldest son of Roger de Leybourne, a man of knightly, though not of baronial rank, and succeeded to his father's lands in 1272. In 1277 and in 1282 he was summoned to serve with horse and arms in Wales, and was made constable of Pevensey Castle in 1293. An expedition being determined upon for the recovery of Gascony in 1294, he was appointed captain of that fleet, and he performed various services in the five ensuing years. He was summoned to Parliament as a baron in February 1299, and served in the army with which the King invaded Scotland in that year, having five

knights and fifteen esquires in his retinue. Lord Leybourne was at the siege of Caerlaverock in June 1300, and the poet has given a very characteristic description of him. He was, he says, "a valiant man, without *but* and without *if*:"—

> " Guillemes de Leybourne ausi,
> Vaillans homs sanz *mes* et sanz *si*,
> Baniere i ot o larges pans
> Inde o sis blanc lyons rampans."

In 1301 Leybourne was a party to the letter from the barons to the Pope, and was again in the Scottish wars in 1304. Though he lived five years after that time, no other particulars are known of him. He died in 1309, leaving his grand-daughter, Juliana, then a child, his heir. She married, first, John Lord Hastings, and, secondly, William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon; but her descendants became extinct in 1389, on the death of her great-grandson, John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.

Sir Robert Tiptoft, who is said to have commanded the fleet that defeated the French in 1293,[a] was the son of Henry de Tiptoft, or Tibetot, who held lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and died about 1250. In 1265, Robert de Tiptoft was made governor of Porchester Castle, and soon after accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land, on whose accession to the Crown he was appointed governor of Nottingham Castle. In 1292, being then the King's lieutenant in Wales, he fought a battle with Rees ap Meredith, Prince of Wales, slew four thousand of his troops, and made him prisoner. Tiptoft served in the expedition to Gascony in 1294, and was shortly after joined in a commission with Sir John of Brittany to conclude a

[a] Vide p. 268, *ante*.

treaty of alliance with the King of Castile. In 1297 he was in the wars of Scotland, which was the last service he performed.[a] Though Sir Robert Tiptoft was never summoned as a baron of the realm, he was present in Parliament in 1277, and again in 1290, when he and many Peers were parties to certain proceedings.[b] He died in October 1298, leaving Sir Pain de Tiptoft, his son and heir, who became a baron in 1308, and died in 1314. His son John, second Baron Tiptoft, had two sons, namely, Robert, his successor, on whose death, in 1372, the barony fell into abeyance, and a second son called Pain, whose eldest son, John de Tiptoft, obtained a peerage from King Henry VI., and left a son of the same name, who was created Earl of Worcester in 1449. He was attainted and beheaded in 1470; and though the earldom was restored to his son in the following year, it became extinct in 1485, when the second barony of Tiptoft also fell into abeyance.

GERVASE ALARD.—Though of humble ancestry, this person and his family are very deserving of notice, since they were brave sailors, and performed important naval services. Gervase Alard was a native of Winchelsea, and as he became admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports, he was, doubtless, one of the most distinguished seamen of his time. His name first occurs in July 1293, when he was a manucaptor or bail for Benedict Seman[c] and two other men of Winchelsea, who were accused of having murdered a sailor belonging to Yarmouth.[d] At the same time he was also bail for Walter Upright, of Hethe, near

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 39.
[b] Rot. Parl. vol. I. pp. 25. 244.
[c] Query *Sea-man?*
[d] Rot. Parl. vol. I. p. 98.

Southampton, who had been arrested by the merchants of Tournay for having conveyed wines to England which was freighted to them.[a] He commanded the Cinque Ports fleet on the coast of Scotland in 1300; again in February 1303, and again in June 1306.[b] Nothing more has been discovered of this veteran than what has been stated, which shows that, like the other admirals of the Cinque Ports, he was implicated in a robbery at sea, except that, between 1303 and 1307,[c] he presented a petition to Edward the First, in which he called himself "his liege man Gervase Alard, of Winchelsea," and represented that he had served the King in the wars of Gascony, with the deceased Edmond Earl of Lancaster, in Flanders, and in each expedition to Scotland, in all of which voyages, and also in Normandy, as well as in all other parts where the King had been engaged in his wars, without having received anything from him, except 4*l.* from his cofferer at La Rose in Galway, and a horse of the King's worth four marks.[d] "But inasmuch as he had become aged and spent all he had[e] in his service, he humbly prayed, that he would command that some regard should be had for the great labour and expenses which he had incurred in these services, unless the King should be pleased to grant him a small piece of land at Pevensey of the fee of the barony of Ogle called the Island, which land ought to be given to him, because he had formerly purchased it of the right heirs, but had been deprived of it in the time of Sir Peter de Savoy." This petition was referred

[a] Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 98.
[b] Rot. Patent. 31 Edw. I. m. 39.
[c] Ibid. 34 Edw. I. m. 21.
[d] Vide p. 297, *ante*.
[e] "E pur ceo qe le dit Gervays est mout cheer en age, e tot le plus de soen ad despendu en le service nostre dit Seigneur."

to Parliament, and ordered to be investigated in another Parliament, and a writ was sent to Robert de Burghersh, warden of the Cinque Ports.[a] As Alard says in his petition that he had served in Normandy, it is highly probable that he was present in the memorable engagement with the French ships in 1293. THOMAS ALARD, of Winchelsea, was summoned to attend a great council in 1296;[b] and in 1304, being then bailiff of Winchelsea, he and the master of the ship "La Nicolette" of that port petitioned to be allowed to account for the 100*s.* which they had received to prepare the said ship in 1294 or 1295 to go to Brabant with the King's daughter, the Duchess of Brabant, the which money having been demanded from them by the Exchequer; and their request was complied with.[c] JUSTIN ALARD was one of the captains of the fleet of the Cinque Ports in 1300. The name was again conspicuous in naval affairs in the next and in subsequent reigns.

Of EDWARD CHARLES, who was made captain and admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports on the north coast from the Thames to Berwick in 1306, and who was probably nearly related to the William Charles, who was one of the captains of that fleet in Scotland in 1300, nothing certain is known. A Sir Edward Charles,[d] and probably this person, the son of Sir William Charles, was born in 1272,[e] and was commanded

[a] Rot. Parl. vol. I. p. 424. In the 13th Edw. III. 1339, Margaret, the widow of Gervase Alard, was bound to provide one foot-soldier for land in Sneylham. (Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, VII. 20.) Agnes, the wife of Gervase Alard, died in 1367, leaving Arnold, son of Arnold Cobham, her cousin and heir. (Esch. 41 Edw. III. No. 1.) The family of Alard, descendants, it is said, of Gervase, held the manor of that name in Kent for many generations.—Hasted's History of Kent, pp. 64. 484.

[b] Parliamentary Writs, vol. I. p. 425.

[c] Rot. Parl. vol. I. p. 168.

[d] Roll of Arms, temp. Edw. II. 8vo. 1828.

[e] Esch. 1 Edw. I., and 33 Edw. I.

to repair in person with horses and arms to a station on the sea-shore, either in Norfolk or Suffolk, for the defence of the coast against the French, in August 1295; he was summoned to perform military service in Flanders in 1297, and against the Scots in 1298 and also in 1301, and died possessed of lands in Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, about 1330.[a]

The title of "Admiral" is attributed to no less than twenty-one persons in the reign of Edward the Second. Few of those individuals, however, are deserving of much consideration, either from their station or their services; and some of them were so obscure, that little is known of their history, except that they held the office which has caused them to be noticed in this work. A few biographical particulars of the most eminent of those Admirals may nevertheless be read with interest.

Sir Simon de Montacute represented one of the most illustrious houses in England, and was a distinguished soldier. He served in the army as early as 1281, and distinguished himself in a galley in the Garonne in 1296.[b] In 1299 he is said to have been the proprietor of a large galley and a barge.[c] At the siege of Carlaverock, Montacute commanded the third division, and was in nearly every military expedition of his time. He was summoned to Parliament as a baron on the 26th of September 1300; and, in consideration of his merits, the King remitted part of a debt which he owed to the Crown in 1306: in 1308 he was made constable of Beaumaris Castle. Lord Montacute died in 1316, leaving, by the sister and heiress of Orry, King of Man, his son William the second baron,

[a] Esch. Edw. III. No. 40. [b] Vide p. 278, *ante*. [c] Vide pp. 295, 296.

who was ancestor of the Earls of Salisbury and of all the other ennobled branches of his family.[a]

SIR JOHN DE CROMWELL is first mentioned in the historical poem describing the siege of Carlaverock, in 1300, which states that he was brave and handsome, and so actively employed that his shield was much battered by the stones that fell from the castle during the assault. He gained much reputation by his military services. In 1304 he was involved in a quarrel with Nicholas Lord Segrave, whom he accused of treason. The affair was brought before Parliament, and is recorded at great length, in consequence of Segrave having challenged his defamer, and not being allowed to fight him in England, he endeavoured to leave the realm without the King's license. Cromwell stood high in Edward the Second's favour, by whom he was made a baron and constable of the Tower. In 1310 and 1311 he was sent on an embassy to France, and was often employed on other important missions. Though deeply implicated in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion, Cromwell recovered the King's confidence, and was appointed admiral of the fleet in the expedition to Gascony in 1314. On the accession of King Edward the Third, the custody of the Tower was again entrusted to him. Lord Cromwell died about 1333. His great-grandson, Ralph the fourth baron Cromwell, was lord treasurer to Henry the Sixth; but the barony fell into abeyance on his death, in 1455, and though recovered in 1461, again became in abeyance in 1471, in which state it still remains.

SIR ROBERT LEYBOURNE was probably nearly related to William Lord Leybourne;[b] but his parentage has not

[a] Memoir of Sir Simon de Montacute, in the illustrations of the "Siege of Caerlaverock."

[b] Vide p. 408, *ante.*

been ascertained.[a] He was in the army in Scotland in 1308;[b] was appointed constable of Newcastle in Ayr, in Scotland, in 1309;[c] was a commissioner of array in Lancashire in 1310, knight of the shire for Cumberland in 1311 and again in 1313, when he was pardoned for having joined the Earl of Lancaster in his rebellion. In 1315 represented Westmorland in Parliament; he was then ordered to defend the northern counties,[d] and to raise soldiers in that county.[e] Sir Robert Leybourne was sheriff of Chester in 1322,[f] in which year he was appointed captain and admiral of the fleet going to Scotland.[g] He died in the early part of the reign of Edward the Third.[h]

SIR JOHN STURMY'S name has not been found before 1314, when he was one of the King's valets, and was made admiral of the fleet jointly with Peter Bard. The little that is recorded of him relates chiefly to his naval employments already mentioned. He held lands in Norfolk and Essex,[i] and in 1315 and 1318 was appointed keeper of the town and castle of Orford.[k] Sturmy was accused of having extorted some lands from a man for his ward, whom he afterwards married to his own daughter; and the proceedings on the subject show that King Edward the Third had given him the confidential office of knight of his chamber,[l] probably in reward of his services. He was a mainpernour in Parliament in 1340,[m] and died about three years afterwards.[n]

[a] He appears to have married Beatrix, the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Boteler. Esch. 24 Edw. III. No. 31.
[b] Rot. Scot. I. 59.
[c] Ibid. 63, 64.
[d] Ibid. 152, 161.
[e] Parliamentary Writs, vol. II. p. 1088; Fœdera, II. 230.
[f] Fœdera, II. 480.
[g] Ibid. 487.
[h] Rot. Parl. II. 406.
[i] Rot. Chart. 2 Edw. III.
[k] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 233, 240.
[l] Rot. Parl. II. 379.
[m] Ibid. 114.
[n] Esch. 17 Edw. III. No. 38. He appears to have married Albreda, widow of John Constable of Yorkshire. Esch. 23 Edw. III. No. 81.

SIR HUMPHREY LITTLEBURY was one of the knights of the King's household who were appointed in 1313 to investigate a charge brought against Edmond de Mauley, for having counterfeited the privy seal;[a] and he was, about that time, summoned to serve with horse and arms against the Scots. In 1324 he was elected a knight of the shire for the county of Lincoln, in which year, and again in 1325 and 1326, he was a commissioner of array in that county.[b] Sir Humphrey Littlebury was frequently employed by King Edward the Third between 1334 and 1336,[c] about which year he died.

SIR JOHN OF ARGYLE appears to have been one of those base Scotsmen who adhered to the invader of their country during its struggle for independence. He was in the service of Edward the First in 1297, when he was commanded to proceed with horse and arms abroad.[d] On the 13th of December 1307 he and many of his faithless countrymen were enjoined to maintain tranquillity in Scotland during the King's absence in France;[e] and the various duties entrusted to him prove that he possessed the entire confidence of Edward the Second.[f] His military talents caused him to be made admiral of the fleet serving on the Scottish coast in 1310,[g] and in 1313 the custody of some lands belonging to the Templars in Yorkshire was given to him.[h] A petition was presented to the King in 1315, by Duncan de Mackory "bacheler Mons. Johan de Argyl," praying to be rewarded for his

[a] Fœdera, II. 200.
[b] Parliamentary Writs, II. 1109.
[c] Rot. Scot. I. 307.
[d] Parliamentary Writs, I. 284.
[e] Fœdera, II. 22.
[f] Vide Rot. Scot. I. 76, 93, 121, 125, 138.
[g] Fœdera, II. 114.
[h] Ibid. 237.

services;[a] and on the 14th of December Sir John and Alexander of Argyle, apparently his son, were desired to use their best endeavours to secure the tranquillity and peace of Scotland, and to obey the Earl of Richmond as the King's lieutenant in that kingdom.[b] Sir John of Argyle died at Ospring, in Kent, in September 1316, while on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and left a son, called Sir Alan of Argyle.[c]

SIR WILLIAM DE CREYE'S name first occurs as a "serviens" performing the military service due from Walter de Trayly in 1282. In 1297 he was summoned to serve in the expedition to Gascony;[d] and he was a conservator of the peace in Cambridgeshire in 1308, and knight of the shire for Kent in 1309 and 1313.[e] About October 1311 he was sent by the King to the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, requesting them to receive Peter de Gaveston with kindness in their territories.[f] In reward of his services as admiral in 1314 or 1315, Edward granted him the wardship of a minor.[g]

SIR JOHN DE CAUNTON.—Of this person, who appears to have been the knight of that name of Leicestershire, whose banner is described in a Roll of Arms of this reign, all that is positively known, besides his appointment as admiral in 1310, is that in 1311, being, then a commissioner of array, he was ordered to impress thirty carpenters and twenty masons in Northumberland for the King's service;[h] that he ob-

[a] Rot. Parl. I. 310.
[b] Parliamentary Writs, II. 444.
[c] Wardrobe Accounts, 10 Edw. II.; Archæologia, vol. XXVI.
[d] Parliamentary Writs, I. 557.
[e] Ibid. II. 734. His name is in the list of the knights of Kent in a Roll of Arms compiled in the reign of Edward the Second, 8vo. 1828.
[f] Fœdera, II. 144.
[g] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. pp. 218, 219.
[h] Rot. Scot. I. 101.

tained a pardon in 1313 for having aided the Earl of Lancaster in producing the death of Peter de Gaveston; and that he was a mainpernour for one of the Earl of Lancaster's adherents in 1322.[a]

JOHN DE PERBROUN was an eminent burgess of Great Yarmouth, and represented that place in Parliament in 1322 and 1324. He was also collector of the customs of that port. In 1316 he obtained the King's pardon for some offences committed by him and others against the barons of the Cinque Ports. His appointments as admiral of the northern fleet, and the charges brought against him of having on several occasions plundered ships at sea, have been noticed. In 1326 he and Sir John Sturmy were ordered to attend the King's council, to give information respecting vessels to be provided by Yarmouth.[b] King Edward the Third appointed Perbroun admiral of his whole fleet going against the Scots in 1333, with power to chastise and punish all the sailors under his command,[c] which is the last time his name has been found.

SIR NICHOLAS KYRIEL or CRIOL was the younger son of a knight of the same name, who was summoned to Parliament in 1294 and 1297,[d] and died in 1303.[e] Sir Nicholas Kyriel was born in 1283, but little is known of him before 1319, when he was ordered to serve with horse and arms. In 1324 he raised a corps of archers in Kent, and being then Admiral of the fleet, was commanded to attend the King's council with two men from each port, to advise on the means of defending the realm.[f]

[a] Parliamentary Writs. II. 650.
[b] Ibid. 1275.
[c] Rot. Scot. I. 226.
[d] Parliamentary Writs, I. 558.
[e] Esch. 31 Edw. I.
[f] Parliamentary Writs, II. 737.

SIR ROBERT BEUDYN was a native of Devonshire, of which county he was sheriff in 1319, when the castle of Exeter was entrusted to his charge;[a] and was knight of the shire in 1320, 1322, and 1324. In 1322, and on several subsequent occasions, he was a commissioner of array; and in 1324 he proceeded to Guienne as admiral of the King's fleet. In 1327 he represented Cornwall in Parliament,[b] which is the last that is known of him.

SIMON DE DRYBY held lands in the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk; and, judging from the nature of his employments, he seems to have been a confidential servant of the Crown, for between 1315 and 1321 numerous manors and castles forfeited by rebels, or which came by other means into the King's hands, were committed to his custody.[c] In 1322 he was examined before the King at Gloucester, as a witness against a person who had been sent to the Prior of Lanthony, to seize the goods of the Earl of Hereford;[d] soon after which time he died.[e]

STEPHEN ALARD was no doubt a near relation of Gervase Alard, the admiral of the Cinque Ports in the reign of Edward the First. To what has been already said of him little can be added. In November 1307 he was made a collector of the customs on wines at Winchelsea and Rye: and in 1322 the King granted him some lands in Selling, in Kent, which had be-

It is doubtful when Sir Nicholas Kyriel died. He left a son, Sir John Kyriel, whose grandson, Sir Thomas Kyriel, was a Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry the Sixth. Harleian MSS. 1379. f. 113.

[a] Abbr. Rot. Originalium, p. 250.

[b] Parliamentary Writs, II. 538. The date of Sir Robert Beudyn's death is not stated, but in 1331 his wife Johanna died, leaving her daughter Margery, wife of Roger Witlegh, her heir. (Esch. 5 Edw. III. No. 36.)

[c] Abbr. Rot. Orig. 224 — 264; Fœdera, II. 344, 480, 481.

[d] Parliamentary Writs, II. 786.

[e] Esch. 16 Edw. II.

longed to Lord Badlesmere, but, as they were claimed by another person, Alard obtained other lands at Chedingstone, instead of them, in 1326.[a]

ROBERT BATTAYLE.—Nothing more can be stated of this eminent seaman, than that he was mayor of Winchelsea in 1335;[b] that, like so many of the other admirals, he was often concerned in plundering ships, and that he was living in 1336.[c]

ROBERT ASHMAN was also an inhabitant of Great Yarmouth, and was bailiff of that town in 1322.[d]

JOHN DE ATHY appears to have been an Irishman. In 1309 the King granted him the custody of the castle and county of Limerick, rendering for the same like other sheriffs.[e] On the 8th of July 1315 he was ordered to impress sailors at Bristol and elsewhere in Gloucestershire, for the large ships going against the Scots.[f] In 1316 the county of Kerry was entrusted to him;[g] and in July 1317 he was keeper of the Isle of Man.[h] He obtained a grant of the lands of a Scottish rebel, in the island of Raghery, in Ireland, in 1318,[i] and lived until after 1337; for, as will afterwards appear, he was admiral of a fleet of Irish ships in 1335,[k] and was reprimanded for cowardice and neglect of duty in November 1337.[l]

Of PETER BARD the only additional fact that has been discovered is, that he was again admiral of a fleet in 1335.[m]

[a] Abbr. Rot. Orig. p. 266; Parliamentary Writs, II. 431.
[b] Rot. Scot. I. 363.
[c] Ibid. 446.
[d] Parliamentary Writs, II. 443.
[e] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. p. 168.
[f] Rot. Scot. I. 148.
[g] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. p. 196.
[h] Rot. Scot. I. 173.
[i] Rot. Patent. 12 Edw. II. m. 1.
[k] Rot. Scot. I. 338.
[l] Ibid. pp. 498, 513.
[m] Ibid. pp. 357, 379.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

REFERRED TO IN PAGES 59, 61.

THE following contemporary account of William the Conqueror's fleet is preserved in the Bodleian MS. 3632; and, though doubts have been entertained of its authenticity, the able and learned dissertation of Dr. Clarke[a] seems to have completely established its genuineness.

Willelmus Dux Normannorum veniens in Angliam ob adquirendum regnum jure sibi debitum, habuit a Willelmo dapifero filio Osberni sexaginta naves. Ab Hugone postea comite de Cestria totidem. Ab Hugone de Munfort quinquaginta naves, et sexaginta milites. A Re'mo elemosinario Fescanni, postea episcopo Lincoliensi unam navem cum XX^{ti}. militibus. A Nicholao abbate de Sancto Audoeno, XV^{im}. naves cum C. militibus. A Roberto comite Augi, sexaginta naves. A Fulcone Dauno XL. naves. A Geroldo dapifero totidem. A Will' comite Deurous octaginta naves. A Rogero de Mungumeri sexaginta naves. A Rogero de Baumunt LX.

[a] Printed in the Reports from the Commmissioners on the Public Records, vol. i. pp. 488 *et seq.*

naves. Ab Odone episcopo de Baios' C. naves. A Roberto de Morotein' C. et XX^{u}. A Waltero Giffardo XXX^{t} cum C. militibus. Extra has naves que computate simul M. efficiunt, habuit Dux a quibusdam suis hominibus secundum possibilitatem uniuscujusque multas alias naves. Matildis postea regina, ejusdem ducis uxor, ad honorem ducis fecit effici navem que vocabatur MORA, in qua ipse dux vectus est. In prora ejusdem navis fecit fieri eadem Matildes, infantulum de auro, dextro indice monstrantem Angliam, et sinistra mano imprimentem cornu eburneum ori. Pro quo facto, dux concessit eidem Matildi comitatum Cantie.

II.

ACCOUNT OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST'S ACTION WITH A TURKISH DROMON OFF THE COAST OF ACRE, IN JUNE 1191, BY GEOFFREY DE VINESAUF.

[Referred to in page 120.]

" Postremo citra Sidonem versus Baruth, eminus apparuit navis quædam Sarracenorum plena, quos destinaverat Saladinus ex omni paganismo electos in auxilium obsessorum in Achon. Hi quoniam non prorsus expeditum perpenderant introitum in Achon propter imminentem Christianorum exercitum, paululum in mare se retrahentes captabant temporis horam, qua expeditius in portum repente irruerent. Rex navem attendens, primum advocatum quendam suorum galeat-

orem Petrum de Barris imperavit, ut properanter remigans inquireret quisnam navi præesset? Quam cum responso reddito didicisset Regis esse Franciæ, Rex in impetu ferventissimo eo versus appropians, nec Francorum idioma, vel aliquod signum vel vexillum attendit Christianorum, quod eorum responso fidem faceret. Navem autem contemplatus e proximo, ejus admirabatur magnitudinis amplitudinem firmissima solidatam compagine, tribus malis altissimis fastigiatam, et hinc filtro viridi illinc croceo opertam laterum planitiem, circumquaque ita decenti coaptatam apparatu quod nihil supra, omnique victualium copia refertam. Erat quidam qui diceret se apud Baruth extitisse quando navis illa his omnibus congestis fuerat onerata, centum viz. camelorum sarcinis omnis generis armorum, viz. magnis cumulis balistarum, arcuum, pilorum, et sagittarum, septem inerant Sarracenorum admirati et octoginta Turci electi, et præterea omnem æstimationem excedentia omnium generum victualium. Habebant et ignem Græcum abundanter in phialis, et ducentos serpentes perniciosissimos, in exitium Christianorum paratos. Destinatis igitur aliis certius inquisituris, cum se variata a superioribus assertione respondissent esse Genevenses, Tyrum tendentes, et supra ea alteratione responsi cunctis ambigentibus ecce quidam galeatorum nostrorum constanter asserebat sibi constare navem esse Saracenorum inquirenti Regi respondit, 'Caput,' inquit, 'meum gratis abscindendum, aut in stipite me suspendendum concedo, si non hanc jam probavero vobis testibus navem esse Saracenorum certissimis argumentorum indiciis; mittatur itaque properanter altera post eos galea jam festinanter abeuntes, et nullum eis salutationis ab ipsis proferatur eulogium sicque probabitur cujus intentionis fuerint vel credulitatis.' Imperante Rege navem illam galea velocissimo subsequitur remigio, cumque jam lateraliter nautis illis insalutantes remigarent, hi qui in navi erant in ipsos arcubus pila jaciebant et balistis. Quod Rex attendens navem jussit instanter oppugnari; volantibus igitur hinc inde in alterutrum imbrium more missilibus, navis illa laxatis remorum tractibus, motu jam agebatur modestiori, nec enim ventus sufficiebat. Galeatoribus igitur nostris licet frequentius cursu citatiori navem ambientibus nullus pro voto patebat scrutiniis aggressus proficiens. Tanta videbatur navis solidate compacta, robustioris materiæ, et bellatorum munita præsidiis sine intermissione jaculantium et sese fortiter defendentium. Nostri itaque molestius tela a tanta supereminentia navis emissa ferebant, nonnihil enim erat motibus inniti naturalibus, facilius quidem est conteri subjecta de supraveniente pilo cujus est naturaliter ferri deorsum.

Unde desperabilius hæsitantes nostri sese remissius agebant, quid super his invicti Regis Richardi censeret absoluta magnanimitas qui fortiter exclamans suis, ait: 'Nunquid navem intactam et illæsam sustinetis abire proh pudor! post tot triumphos exactos irrepente desidia ceditis ignavi, nondum quiescendi tempus advenit, dum restant hostes, et quos sors obtulit ultro, noverit revera universitas vestra vos omnes in crucem suspendendos vel ultimis afficiendos suppliciis si hos sustinueritis abire.' Galeatores igitur nostri, de necessitate facientes virtutem, certatim se miserunt in mare navemque subeuntes, implicabant funibus gubernacula ut navem inclinarent et progressum impedirent, multa quidem solicitudine et instantia irrepentes, quidam tamen apprehensis rudentibus navem insilierunt. Quos Turci pertinaciter excipientes sine mora trucidarunt, amputantes hinc brachia illinc manus vel capita introeuntium, corpora quoque projecerunt in mare. Quod cæteri videntes, ex ira fervente et zelo ultionis concipientes virtutem, acriori sæviebant insultu et navis transcendentes tabulata, se in ipsos Turcos ingerebant jugiter cedentes sibi fortiter resistentes. Turci nimirum ex desperatione concipientes audaciam totis viribis sibi imminentes repellere tentabant galeatores, hinc pedem amputantes, illinc manum, vel etiam capita quampluribus. Galeatores vero tandem toto nisu irruentes usque in ipsam navis proram Turcos propulerunt cedentes. Turci vero ab ipsius navis interioribus prorumpentes resistebant conglobati, eligentes aut fortiter mori aut adversarios viriliter repellere. Erat quidem Turcorum juventus eximia, bellis apta, decenter armata. Pugnatur utrinque diutius, passim prosternuntur utrique, nostros denique, dum fortius instarent Turci, omni nisu resistentes communicata virtute retrocedere compulerunt et a navi exire. Galeatores itaque se in galeas recipientes navem undique circumeuntes solicite perquirunt qua parte commodior pateret assultus. Rex vero suorum attendens discrimen et quod non de facili salva navi Turci possent obtineri, cum armis et victualibus et cæteris omnibus quæ in navi erant, jussit ut unaquaque galea navem suis perpungerent calcaribus, i. e. rostris ferratis. Galeæ itaque retroactæ multiplicatis remorum impulsibus, cum impetu feruntur in latera navis perforanda, et statim navis soluta est, et fluctibus pervia cœpit aquis influentibus submergi. Turci autem ut mortem in navi pereuntes evaderent, exiliebant in fluctibus nihilominus perituri, quos nostri armis accipientes hos occidebant, illos submergebant. Rex xxxv. vivos retinuit, admiratos scil. et machinarum conficiendarum peritos,

omnes alii perierunt; et arma perdita, serpentes submersi, et marinis fluctibus in diversa jactati. Si navis illa in obsidionem Achonensem salva pervenisset, nunquam a Christianis capta fuisset."[a]

III.

ACCOUNT OF THE ACTION OFF DOVER BETWEEN SOME ENGLISH AND FRENCH SHIPS IN AUGUST 1217.

[Referred to in page 177.]

"Igitur in die Sancti Apostoli Bartholomei, classis Francorum Eustachio monacho, viro flagitiosissimo et piratæ nequissimo, commissa est, ut eam sub salvo ad urbem Londoniarum conduceret, et integram Lodovico præsentaret. Ingressi itaque mare milites supradicti, habuerunt a tergo flatum turgidum, qui eos versus Angliam vehementer urgebat, sed insidias sibi fuisse paratas funditus ignorabant. Cum itaque rapido volatu multam maris viam emensi fuissent, piratæ Regis Anglorum ex obliquo venientes, recensitæ sunt in parte adversa naves quater viginti quapropter timuerunt bellum conserere navale cum navibus paucis, quæ inter galeias et naves alias numerum quadragenarium non excesserunt, computatis omnibus. Sed tandem de casu, qui apud Lincolniam acciderat, in quo pauci de multis triumpharunt, animati, audacter a tergo irruerunt in hostes; quod cum Francigenæ cognoverunt, ad arma prosiliunt; et hostibus viriliter restiterunt. Philippus quoque de Albeneio, et balistarii, cum sagittariis, inter Francos tela mortifera dirigentes, nimiam ex obstantibus in brevi stragem fecerunt. Habuerunt præterea galeias ferro rostratas, quibus naves adversariorum perforantes, multos in momento submerserunt; calcem quoque vivam, et in pulverem subtilem redactam, in altum projicientes, vento illam ferente, Francorum oculos excæcaverunt. Fit gravissimus inter partes conflictus; sed tamen

[a] Geoffrey Vinesauf, Richardi Regis Iter Hierosolymitanum, apud Gale, II. 329.

pars Francorum quorum usus non fuerat prælium navale conserere, in brevi erat funditùs infirmata; nam ab Anglis bellatoribus et in navali prælio eruditis, telis confodiebantur et sagittis, lanceis jugulabantur, gladiis truncabantur, navibus perforatis submergebantur, nec erat spes ulla Francigenis evadendi, unde, ne caperentur ab hostibus vivi, sponte sese in maris fluctibus projecerunt, elegentes potius mori quam Angligenis subjugari. Omnibus igitur subjugatis, qui vivi remanserant ex nobilioribus Francigenis, victores Angli naves omnes viribus obtentas, funibus colligabant atque cum lætissima victoria versus Doveram æquora sulcantes, Deum in suis operibus collaudabant. Videntes ergo milites castelli inopinatam Dei virtutem, exierunt obviam venientibus Anglis: atque Gallos malefatatos vinculis arctioribus constrinxerunt. Inter cæteros autem de fundo cujusdam navis extractus est diu quæsitus, sed tandem repertus Eustachius Monachus, proditor Regis Angliæ et pirata nequissimus, qui cum se deprehensum cognovisset, obtulit pro vita sua et membris magnam pecuniæ quantitatem, et quod de cætero sub Rege Anglorum fideliter militaret. Quem arripiens Richardus filius Regis Johannis nothus, ait: 'Nunquam de cætero falsis tuis promissionibus quenquam in hoc seculo seduces, proditor nequissime!' et sic, educto gladio, caput ejus amputavit. Spolia itaque navium in auro, argento, pannis sericis, et armis, collegerunt regales ministri; atque, prisonibus sub salvo deputatis, significavit Regi Philippus de Albeneio quæ gesta fuerant; qui pro victoria sibi cælitus concessa, Dominum glorificavit, qui in rebus humanis disponendis, semper est et ubique mirabilis. Hujus autem rei eventus, cum ad Lodovici notitiam pervenisset, multo fortius doluit quam de infortunio sibi apud Lincolniam irrogato."[a]

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

"Cum autem Hubertus de Burgo de adventu tam formidabili certificaretur, dixit episcopo Wintoniensi, et marescallo, et aliis magnatibus, 'Si hæc gens indemnis Angliam ingrediatur, procul dubio amittitur. Occurramus igitur animose eis, quia nobiscum est Deus, quando autem excommunicantur.' Cui responderunt, 'Non sumus milites maris, non piratæ, non piscatores, vade autem tu mori.' Divertens igitur parum a loco Hubertus vocato clam capellano suo Luca, festinanter se viatico salutari præmunivit, et induens audaciam leoninam, ait spe-

[a] Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III. 28.

cialioribus suis quibus castrum Doveræ commiserat custodiendum, 'Obtestor per sanguinem Christi, si forte capiar, ante permittatis me suspendi quam alicui Franco castrum reddatis, clavis enim Angliæ est.' Ipsi autem flentes, fide interpositâ et præstito juramento hoc illi concesserunt. Acceptis igitur secum præelectis militibus, videlicet Henrico de Turbevilla et Richardo Suard, cum quibusdam aliis sed paucis, optimam navem intravit, habens secum quosdam de quinque portibus maris peritos. Erant autem nutui suo deditæ circiter decimas sextas naves bene communitæ sine naviculis comitantibus quæ ad xx. sunt recensitæ. Perrexerunt igitur audacter obliquando tamen dracenam, id est loof, ac si vellent adire Calesiam. Quod cum vidisset Eustachisius Monachus dux Francorum, ait, 'Scio quod hi miseri cogitant Calesiam quasi latrunculi invadere, sed frustra, bene enim præmuniuntur;' et ecce Angli subito cum comperissent ventum exhausisse, versa Dracena ex transverso, vento jam eis secundo, irruerunt in hostes alacriter, et cum attigissent puppes adversariorum, uncis injectis attraxerunt eas ad se, et intrantes quantocius securibus præacutis præciderunt rudentes et antennas malum supportantes, et cecidit velum expansum super Francos ad instar retis super aviculas irretitas, et nobilioribus parcendo incarcerandis in frusta cæteros detruncabant; inter quos Eustachium, qui se defiguraverat, quem etiam in sentina invenerunt latitantem extraxerunt et decollaverunt. Erat autem ille natione Flandrensis qui pro hæreditate prosequenda fratribus suis sine liberis præmortuis relicto habitu et ordine suo apostataverat et existens pirata et piratarum magister multis damnosus fuit et cruentus, sed tamen prædo prædа factus fructus collegit viarum suarum. Cum autem Hubertus victor miraculosus ad litus lætus pervenisset, perrexerunt ei obviam et suis convictoribus omnes episcopi qui erant cum militia et populo, sacris induti vestibus cum crucibus et vexillis, cantantes solemniter et Deum collaudantes."[a]

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

"Quomodo Tyrannus occiditur in Mari cum suis.

"In primordiis istius novi Regis erat quidam Tyrannus ex Hispanin, cognomine Monachi. Hic enim multas exegisset prædas, multaque loca suo subjugasset imperio, tandem anhelavit ad regnum An-

[a] Matthew Paris, Historia Major; Variantes Lectiones.

gliæ conquærendum. Cumque quæsisset a suis qualis esset terra et quis rex, respondissentque ei, 'Terra quidem optima, et ejus rex puer parvulus,' confestim subintulit, 'dignius quidem puerum regi quam regere: quomodo regere potest, cui regi necesse est? Eamus ergo et deponamus eum.' Statimque magna classe congregata cum immenso apparatu et exercitu Angliam appetiit; et cum esset in mari adhuc longe a terra, cognovissentque marinarii de Portubus adventum ejus, et timuissent eum, eo quod multa mala predicabantur de hoc homine, dixerunt inter se, 'Si applicaverit Tyrannus iste, vastabit omnia, eo quod terra præmunita non est, et longe distat a nobis Rex cum auxilio suo; ponamus ergo in manibus nostris animas nostras, et aggrediamur eos, dum adhuc in mari sunt, quoniam virtus eo modo minima, et veniet nobis auxilium de excelso.' Et intulit unus, cujus edicti cæteri favebant, 'Est ne vestrum aliquis qui hodie pro Anglia mori paratus est?' Et ait unus, 'Ecce ego!' At ille inquit, 'Tolle tecum securim, et cum videris nos cum nave Tyranni congredi, statim navis ipsius malum ascende, et vexillum quod in altum erigitur deprime, ut sic dispergantur et pereant cæteræ naves, dum ducem non habeant, neque præcessorem.' Festinanter itaque conscenderunt naves suas, et laxatis ad ventum velis, cum immenso impetu irruerunt in hostes. Tradiditque Dominus eos in manus eorum; et multis submersis et peremptis, reversi sunt cum gaudio et præda magna, et salvatus est puer et novus Rex per puerum Jesum regnantem in sæcula."[a]

IV.

"DROMON."

[Referred to in page 75.]

There is so much doubt, notwithstanding M. Jal's elaborate dissertation,[b] about the class of vessel described as a DROMON, that a few remarks will be made on the subject.

It seems indisputable that the largest galleys were at one time

[a] Hemingford ap. Gale, II. 563.

[b] Archéologie Navale, I. 230 *et seq.*, 434—442.

called "dromons;"[a] and M. Jal says, "Au neuvième siècle, *dromon* était le nom générique de la famille des navires à rames, armés pour la guerre, comme *galère* le fut aux quatorzième et quinzième:"[b] but it appears that large ships were termed "dromons" in the twelfth century, and the only question is, whether they were or were not galleys?

The word is not often used by English writers; and when it doe occur, it was nearly synonymous with a large ship or buss. Ralph de Diceto says that the fleet with which Richard the First went from Cyprus to Acre in 1191 consisted of thirteen large ships called busses, one hundred other large ships of burthen, and fifty galleys ("triremes"); and he calls the Turkish vessel which Richard attacked and sunk on the coast of Acre "a large ship."[c] Brompton states that Richard left Messina for the East with one hundred and fifty large ships and fifty-three galleys;[d] and he describes the Turkish vessel as a "great buss."[e] Vinesauf, however, says, that the van of Richard's fleet was formed of "ships commonly called dromons,"[f] but he does not call the Turkish ship a "dromon," but simply "a very large ship."[g]

Richard of Devizes seems to have considered a "dromon" a different kind of vessel, though of the same class as ships and busses; for he states that the second line of Richard's fleet consisted of thirteen ships, busses, and dromons;[h] but these thirteen vessels are all

[a] Archéologie Navale, I. 237. 239.

[b] Ibid. p. 434.

[c] "Ricardus rex Anglorum, habens in comitatu suo XIII. magnas naves quas *buceas* vocant, triplici velorum expansione dum æquora sulcarent notabiles, habens c. alias naves onerarias, habens etiam LI. galeas triremes, se vento commisit apud Cyprum, et inter navigandum *navem* quandam quam Saphadinus, Saladini frater Babiloniæ dominus, sumptibus magnis extruxerat." R. de Diceto, p. 661.

[d] "Et toto exercitu suo, cum centum quinquaginta magnis navibus et quinquaginta tribus galeis, a portu Messanæ recessit." Bromton, p. 1197.

[e] "quandam *magnam buciam*"—"pagani omnes qui in *bucia* erant"—"ipse et omnes impetum in *buciam* illam"—"pagani autem qui in *bucia* illa." Ibid. pp. 1200, 1201.

[f] "Prima fronte in navibus quas vulgo dicunt dromones versus orientem recto navigantes respectu." "Dromones quæ præcesserant recto itinere contendentes a tergo prospicere." Vinesauf apud Gale, II. 316.

[g] "navis maxima." Ibid.

[h] "Classis Ricardi regis Anglorûm altum legebat, et hoc ordine procedebat. In prima fronte ibant *tres naves* tantum in quarum una erat regina Siciliæ et puella Navarorum, forte adhuc virgo; *in duabus*, aliqua pars thesauri regis et armorum; in singulis trium, homines defensabiles et victualia. In secundo ordine erant *inter naves et buceas et dromundos tredecim;* in tertio quatuordecim; in quarto, viginti; in quinto, triginta; in sexto, quadraginta; in septimo, sexaginta; *in novissimo, rex ipse cum galeis suis sequebatur.*" Richard of Devizes, ed. Stevenson, p. 46.

called "busses" by Wendover.[a] Additional proof that a "dromon" was not a galley is afforded by the express statement of Devizes, that Richard remained in the rear of his fleet with all his galleys,[b] and by the fact, that, though various and minute descriptions of the Turkish ship are given, it is nowhere said that she had *oars*. When speaking of the Turkish ship, Devizes exclaims "a marvellous ship! a ship than which except Noah's none greater was ever read of! the queen of ships!" but he does not call her a "dromon."[c] Wendover, and Matthew Paris, who derived his information from Wendover, both call the Turkish ship a "dromon."[d] Peter of Langtoft, a contemporary of Matthew Paris, however, calls her a "great buss":—

"A grete busse, and gay fulle hie of saile was he."[e]

Only three other[f] instances have been found before the reign of Edward the Third of the use of the term "dromon;" neither of which gives the idea of the vessel being a galley.

In the "Libel of English Policie" a dromon is thus mentioned. After noticing some of Henry the Fifth's ships, carracks, &c., the writer says—

"When at Hampton he made the great dromons
Which passes other great ships of all the commons."

"ESNECCA."

[Vide Pages 261, 262.]

Since the note in page 261 was printed, in which it is said that Henry the First granted lands in Livingsbourne to Hugh de Bek, "*ministerium de* ESNETKA *sua de Hastinges*," an

[a] "Rex vero Ricardus, quarto idus Aprilis, in magna gloria illum secutus, habuit in comitatu suo tresdecim *buceas*, triplici velorum expansione velificatas; habuit præterea *centum naves onerarias*, et *quinquaginta galeias triremes*." Wendover, ed. Cox, III. 37.

[b] Vide p. 432, note [h]; Richard of Devizes, ed. Stevenson, p. 17.

[c] "Navem mirabilem, qua præter navem Noæ non legitur major ulla fuisse,"—"navis illa Regina navium." Ibid. p. 49.

[d] "Navis quædam permaxima, *quam dromundam* appellant." Wendover, ed. Cox, III. 40.

[e] Vide p. 122, *ante*.

[f] Vide pp. 290, 330, and 336, *ante*.

article in the "Archæologia"[a] has been referred to, which throws much light on the subject, and supplies some additional information about Ships in the twelfth century. A charter, of which the following is a translation, and which is proved by internal evidence to have been granted by Henry the Second between 1162 and 1169, is there given:—

"Henry King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou,"-&c.—"Know ye that I have rendered and granted unto William and Nicholas, sons of Roger son-in-law of Albert, and the heirs of Boniface and Azo, and of Robert and Ralph brothers of the same, *my ministry of my 'Esnecca,' with the livery which appertains,*[b] and all the land of Roger son-in-law of Albert, and all the fees which the same Roger held in capite of King Henry my grandfather, and of whomsoever he held it on the day in which he was alive and dead. Wherefore I will and command that they well and in peace and freely hold (the same), with soc and sac and tol and team and infangeneteof, and with all other quittances and customs and liberties with which Roger, the son-in-law of Albert, best and most quietly held the same in the time of King Henry my grandfather, in wood and plain," &c.

The passage in the charter is illustrated by the subjoined extract from the "Dialogue of the Exchequer," and by several entries in early records:—

"Item, there are at the Exchequer appointed liveries which are paid at stated terms without the King's writ; *such is the livery of the 'nauclerus,' that is, the keeper of the royal ship which we call 'Esnecca,'* who receives 12 [*qy.* pence] by the day; of which and the like tallies are made by the chamberlains, because they have not writs of these things."[c]

In 1159 the Sheriff of Devon was allowed in his accounts in

[a] Vol. vi. pp. 116 *et seq.*

[b] "Ministerium meum de Esnecca mea, cum liberatione quæ pertinet."

[c] "Item sunt ad scaccarium liberationes constitutæ quæ statutis terminis, sine brevi Regis, solvuntur; *qualis est liberatio naucleri, custodis scilicet navis Regis, quam Esneccam dicimus,* qui xii. percipit quaque die; de qua et consimilibus talliæ fiunt a camerariis, quia de hiis brevia non habent."—*Dial. Scacc.* lib. i. cap. vi.

livery of the "*Snecca*" 7*l.* in his crossing;[a] and the Sheriff of Hants was allowed in livery of the men of the "Esnecca" 102*s.* 7*d.*[b]

In 1166 the Receivers of the town of Southampton were allowed in livery of the Esnecca, when the King crossed in Lent, 7*l.* 10*s.*; and in the passage of the King of Scotland 7*l.* 10*s.* by the King's writ; and in the passage of Sir Geoffrey, the King's son, in the Esnecca and two other ships, 10*l.*[c]

In 1176 the Receivers of Southampton were allowed in livery of the Esnecca, when the King's daughter crossed to go to Sicily, 7*l.* 10*s.* by the King's writ; and in livery of seven ships which sailed with her, 10*l.* 12*s.*[d]

In 1184 the Receivers were allowed in livery of the Esnecca, when the Duke of Saxony and the Queen crossed, 7*l.* 10*s.* by writ of Ranulph de Glanville.[e]

These entries clearly prove that the vessel which was appropriated to the King, and for the use of the royal family and other distinguished persons in crossing the Channel, was an "Esnecca" or "Snake;" and the "ministry" was, no doubt, the command of that vessel. It is remarkable, however, that the King should describe that office as *his* ministry of *his* Snake—"*ministerium meum de Esnecca mea.*"

[a] "*In liberatione Sneccæ* VII. li. in transfretatione ipsius."—*Rot. Pip.* 5. *Hen. II.*, Rot. 6[a].

[b] "In liberatione hominum *de Esnecca*, C. et II. s. et VII. d."—*Ibid.*, Rot. 7[a].

[c] "*In liberatione Esneccæ*, quando Rex transfretavit in Quadragesima, VII. li. et x. s. Et in passagio Regis Scotiæ VII. li. et x. s. per breve Regis. Et in passagio Domini Gaufridi filii Regis *Esnecca* et duabus aliis navibus x. li."—*Ibid.*, 12 *Hen. II.*, Rot. 8[b].

[d] "In *liberatione Esneccæ*, quando filia Regis transfretavit itura in Siciliam, VII. li. et x. s. per breve Regis. Et in liberatione septem navium quæ cum ea transfretaverunt, x. li. et XII. s."—*Ibid.*, 22 *H. II.*, Rot. 13[b], tit. "Hantoro."

[e] "In liberatione Esneccæ, quando dux Saxoniæ et Regina transfretaverunt, VII. li. x. s. per breve Ranulphi de Glanvilla."—*Ibid.*, 31 *H. II.* Rot. 14[b], tit. "Hants."

V.

CATALOGUE OF COMMANDERS, ADMIRALS, AND CAPTAINS OF ENGLISH FLEETS, TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SECOND.

[*Note.*—The names of those persons whose appointments as Admirals or Captains are doubtful, are not printed in small capitals. Those thus marked (*) do not occur in the Lists of Admirals by Spelman, Coke, or Prynne, nor in any other List.]

RICHARD THE FIRST.

1189.

An. 1.—GERARD, ARCHBISHOP OF AIX,
BERNARD, BISHOP OF BAYONNE,
ROBERT DE SABLOIL,
RICHARD DE CAMVILLE,
WILLIAM DE FORTZ OF OLERON } "Leaders and Governors of all the King's Navy," or "Justices of the King's Navy," or "Leaders and Constables of the King's Ships going to the Holy Land."[a]

1191.

An. 2.—*SIR STEPHEN DE TURNHAM.[b]
*SIR ROBERT DE TURNHAM.[c]

JOHN.

1213.

An. 14.—*WILLIAM LONGESPEE, EARL OF SALISBURY, Commander of the English fleet which attacked the French ships at Damme.[d]

HENRY THE THIRD.

1217.

August, An. 1.—*SIR HUBERT DE BURGH,
*SIR PHILIP D'ALBINI, } Commanders of the fleet which defeated the French off Dover.[e]

[a] Vide pp. 87, 88, *ante.*
[b] Vide p. 114, *ante.*
[c] Vide p. 118, *ante.*
[d] Vide p. 167, *ante.*
[e] Vide p. 177, *ante.*

1224.

Aug. 29, *An.* 8.—Sir Geoffrey de Lucy, Keeper of the coast from Pevensey to Bristol.[a]

October 30, *An.* 9.—Richard Aguillon, Keeper of the sea-coasts in Norfolk and Suffolk.[b]

1235.

June 28, *An.* 19.—Peter de Rivall, a priest, Keeper of all the ports and of all the sea-coasts of England, except Dover, which was then in the custody of Hubert de Burgh.[c]

1264.

June 30, *An.* 48.—Sir Thomas de Multon, Captain and Keeper of the sea and sea-coasts.[d]

Sept. 21. *Ibid.*——————————— Keeper of the sea and sea-coast in Norfolk, Essex, and Suffolk.[e]

EDWARD THE FIRST.

1293.

An. 21.—*Sir Robert Tiptoft, is said to have Commanded the fleet which defeated the French in the Channel in 1293.[f]

1294.

An. 22.—Sir John de Botetourt, { Commander of the fleet at Yarmouth.

Sir William Leybourne,[g] —— at Portsmouth. "Captain of the King's sailors and mariners."[h]

Sir . . . . . Ormond, —— in Ireland.[i]

[a] Rot. Patent. 8 Hen. III. m. 5, Vide p. 146, *ante.*

[b] Rot. Patent. 9 Hen. III. m. 9. Though Richard Aguillon and Peter de Rivall are included in Prynne's and Lord Coke's lists of Admirals, their names do not occur in relation to any naval transaction.

[c] Rot. Chart. 19 Hen. III. m. 5.

[d] Rot. Patent. 48 Hen. III. Vide pp. 215, 216, *ante.*

[e] Ibid.

[f] Holingshed. Vide pp. 268, 214, *ante.*

[g] Spelman, in his "Glossary," (*voce* "Admiral,") and again in his "Catalogue of Admirals," says that Sir William Leybourne was called "Admiral of the King's sea" in a convention dated at Bruges on the 8th of March, 15 Edw. I. 1286." [1287] But he has evidently mistaken the regnal year, as the convention alluded to was dated on the 8th of March, 25 Edw. I. 1297. Vide Fœdera, II. 861, and p. 278, *ante.*

[h] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. p. 82 [b].

[i] Trivet. 279.

1297.

March 25, An. 25.—Sir John Botetourt, "Keeper of the sea-coasts northward."[a]

July 18, *An.* 25.—Sir William de Leybourne, "Captain of the King's mariners,"[b] styled "Admiral of the sea of the King of England" in 1296.[c]

1300.

September, An. 29.—Gervase Alard, "Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports."[d]

1303.

February 4, *An.* 31.—Gervase Alard, "Captain and Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports from Dover to Cornwall, and of the whole of Cornwall."[e]

1306.

June 5, An. 34.—Gervase Alard, "Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet of the Cinque Ports, and of all other ports from Dover to Cornwall, and of the whole of Cornwall."[f]

——————— Edward Charles, "Captain and Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports from the Thames to Berwick-on-Tweed."[g]

EDWARD THE SECOND.

1308.

July 18, *An.* 2.—*William le Betour, "Captain of the King's ships of Hartlepool &c., going to the relief of Aberdeen."[h]

1310.

June 15, *An.* 3.—*Sir John de Caunton, "Captain and Governor of the King's fleet going to Scotland."[i]

[a] Rot. Patent. 25 Edward I. pt. 1. m. 9. By a subsequent patent, Sir John Botetourt, John Filloll, William de Kerdeston, and Roger Fitz Osbert were empowered to make ordinances for the benefit of the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Ibid., 25 Edw. I. p. 2. m. 14.

[b] He is so styled in a commission bearing the above date, empowering him, Robert de Burghersh, Henry de Cobham, and John de Munceaux, to make ordinances for the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Southampton. Rot. Patent. 25 Ed. I. p. 2. m. 14.

[c] Fœdera, II. 861. Vide p. 278, *ante*.

[d] Wardrobe Accounts, 29 Edw. I., Vide p. 299, *ante*.

[e] Rot. Patent. 31 Edw. I. m. 39.

[f] Ibid. 34 Edw. I. m. 21.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Rot. Scot. I. 55.

[i] Ibid. p. 82.

August 6, *An.* 4.—*Sir Simon de Montacute, "Captain and Governor of the King's fleet going to Scotland,"[a] "Admiral of the King's navy."[b]

1311.

June 1, *An.* 4.—*Sir John of Argyle, "Admiral and Captain of the King's fleet on the coast of Argyle."[c]

1314.

March 12, *An.* 7.—Sir John Sturmy, *Peter Bard, "Jointly and severally Admiral of the King's and all other ships against the Scots."[d]

March 25, *An.* 7.—Sir John of Argyle, "Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet on the coast of Argyle."[e]

1315.

March 15, *An.* 8.—William de Creye, *Thomas de Hewys, "Admirals of the fleet of the King's ships on the coast of Argyle."[f]

March 15, *An.* 8.—John Lord Botetourt, "Admiral and Captain of all sailors and mariners from the Thames to Berwick-on-Tweed, and also of those in the fleet going against the Scots."[g]

——————— Sir John of Argyle, "Captain of the King's fleet of ships in the Isles of Argyle."[h]

May 29, *An.* 8.—William de Creye, "Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet of the Cinque Ports on the western coast and on the coast of Ireland;"[i] afterwards called "Chief Admiral of the western fleet in Scotland."[k]

June 3, *An.* 8.—William de Creye, "Admiral of the fleet about to go to Argyle."

——————— Sir John of Argyle, "Captain of the fleet and mariners of the Cinque Ports."[l]

July 3, *An.* 8.—John de Athy, "Captain and Leader of eleven ships of Bristol proceeding against the Scots."[m]

September 18, *An.* 9.—*Sir Humphrey Littlebury, "Admiral in Chief of one part of the King's navy."[n]

[a] Fœdera, II. 115.
[b] Rot. Scot. I. 92.
[c] Ibid. p. 99.
[d] Ibid. p. 155.
[e] Ibid. p. 121.
[f] Ibid. p. 139.
[g] Fœdera, p. 139.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Ibid. p. 144.
[k] Ibid. p. 146.
[l] Ibid. p. 144.
[m] Rot. Scot. I. 146.
[n] Fœdera, II. 277.

September 18, *An.* 9.—Sir John Sturmy, "Admiral in Chief of one part of the King's navy."[a]

November 6, *An.* 9.—Sir John Sturmy, *William Gettour, "Captains and Admirals of a squadron of six ships sent against pirates off Berwick."[b]

1316.

November 3, *An.* 9.—Sir Robert Leybourne, "Admiral of the fleet proceeding with ships against the Scots."[c]

December 9, *An.* 10.—Sir Nicholas Kyriel, "Admiral of the King's fleet and of the fleet of the Cinque Ports westward of the Thames."[d]

1317.

March 28, *An.* 10.—John de Athy, Captain of the Fleet in Ireland.[e]

May, 13, *An.* 10.—John Perbroun, "Admiral of the King's fleet north of the Thames."[f]

Sir Robert Leybourne, "Admiral of the King's fleet west of the Thames."[g]

1318.

April 24, *An.* 11.—William Gettour, "Captain and Leader of the King's fleet going to Berwick and Scotland."[h]

1319.

An. 12.—John de Athy, "Admiral on the coast of Ireland."[i]

May 23, *An.* 12.—*Simon de Dryby, *Robert Ashman, *William de Trewell, "Two or one of them Admirals and Captains of the ships going to the southern parts against the Scots."[k]

[a] Fœdera, II. 277. They must have been appointed before this date.

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 151.

[c] Ibid. p. 166.

[d] Fœdera, II. 305.

[e] Rot. Patent. 10 Edw. II. m. 22.

[f] Spelman and Prynne.

[g] Ibid. On July 14, 10 Edw. II. 1316, Robert de Keadale, Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, was appointed to keep the sea-coast from the Thames mouth southward to Bristol; and John Botetourte was ordered to keep the sea-coast from the Thames to Berwick-upon-Tweed. (Pat. 10 Edw. II. p. 1. m. 34.) On the 12th of August in the same year William de Wanton was appointed to keep the sea-coast from the mouth of the Thames to Ipswich, from depredations, homicides, &c. (Pat. 10 Edw. II. p. 1. m. 25.)

[h] Rot. Scot. I. 181.

[i] Abbrev. Rot. Orig. p. 248 [a].

[k] Rot. Scot. I. 194.

August 12, *An.* 13.—SIMON DE DRYBY, "Admiral and Captain of the King's fleet in Scotland."[a]

1321.

An. 15.—*Sir Hugh le Despenser.[b]

1322.

May 19, *An.* 15.—ROBERT BATTAYLE, "Captain and Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports."[c]

———— JOHN PERBROUN, "Admiral of the King's fleet towards the north."[d]

———— SIR ROBERT LEYBOURNE, "Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet on the western sea."[e]

1323.

April 18, *An.* 16.—ROBERT BATTAYLE, "Captain and Admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports going to Ireland, and thence against the Scots."[f]

May 16, *An.* 16.—JOHN PERBROUN, "Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet from the Thames northward."[g]

1324.

July 16, *An.* 18.—*SIR JOHN DE CROMWELL, "Admiral of the sea-coast, and captain of the sailors and mariners in the King's service going to Gascony."[h]

August 5, *An.* 18.—SIR ROBERT BEUDYN, "Admiral of the King's western fleet."[i]

August, *An.* 18.—SIR JOHN STURMY, "Admiral of the King's fleet from the Thames northwards."[k]

An. 18.—*STEPHEN ALARD, "Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet of the Cinque Ports westward."[l]

1325.

An. 19.—SIR JOHN STURMY, SIR NICHOLAS KYRIEL, Sir John Felton, } "Admirals of the three seas of England."[m]

[a] Rob. Scot. I. 202.
[b] Walsingham, p. 92. Vide p. 341, *ante*.
[c] Rot. Patent. 15 Edw. II. m. 13
[d] Ibid., 15 Edw. II. m. 13.
[e] Ibid. 15 Edw. II. m. 15; Fœdera, II. 487.
[f] Rot. Patent. 16 Edw. II. m. 18.
[g] Ibid. m. 11.
[h] Fœdera, II. 562.
[i] Rot. Vasc. 18 Edw. II. m. 22, and 12 *dorso*. Rot. Claus. 19 Edw. II. m. 16 Issue Roll, 18 Edw. II.
[k] Rot. Patent. 18 Edw. II. m. 2; and Fœdera, II. 562. Rot. Vasc. 18 Edw. II. m. 26 and m. 28.
[l] Ibid. Rot. Vasc. 18 Edw. II. m. 25.
[m] Walsingham, p. 100. No other authority has been found which shews that Sir John Felton was an Admiral..

An. 19.—Sir John Sturmy, "Admiral of the King's northern fleet."[a]

December 8, *An.* 19.—Sir Nicholas Kyriel, "Admiral of the King's western fleet."[b]

1326.

May 29, *An.* 20.—Sir Nicholas Kyriel, "Admiral of the King's navy westward of the Thames."[c]

July 20, *An.* 20.—Sir John Sturmy, Sir Nicholas Kyriel, "Admirals of the King's two fleets."[d]

September 19, *An.* 20.—Sir Robert Leybourne, Captain and Admiral of the King's northern fleet.[e]

An. 20.—Sir John Sturmy, "Captain and Admiral of the King's northern fleet."[f]

VI.

COMMISSIONS TO KEEPERS OF THE SEA, ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS OF MARINERS AND SQUADRONS.

HENRY III.

De Maritima custodienda.

"Dominus Rex commisit Galfrido de Lucy maritimam Angliæ custodiendam, quamdiu domino Regi placuerit. Et mandatum est omnibus ballivis et baronibus de Quinque Portubus, et aliis probis hominibus et fidelibus suis de costera maris a Pevenesel usque Bristoll, quod ei in hoc sint intendentes et auxiliantes ad fidem, commodum, et honorem domini Regis.

"Teste Rege apud London, xxix. die Augusti."[g]

TRANSLATION.

"Of guarding the Sea-Coast.

"The lord the King has committed to Geoffrey de Lucy the sea-coast of England, to keep so long as the lord the King shall please.

[a] Rot. Claus. 19 Edw. II. m. 5, 7, 8.
[b] Ibid. m. 7.
[c] Ibid. 20 Edw. II. m. 10 and 9.
[d] Rot. Patent. 19 Edw. II. m. 10; and Fœdera, II. 637.
[e] Rot. Patent. 20 Edw. II. m. 15.
[f] Ibid. m. 20.
[g] Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. III. m. 5.

And all his bailiffs and barons of the Cinque Ports, and other good and faithful men of the sea-coast from Pevensey to Bristol, are commanded to be herein intendant and assistant to him to the faith, advantage, and honour of the lord the King.

" Witness the King at London, the 29th day of August" [8 Hen. III. 1224.]

" De Marina Norf. et Suff.

" Rex omnibus de costera maris Norf. et Suff. salutem.—Sciatis quod commisimus RICARDO AGUILLUN marinam nostram Norf. et Suff. cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, scilicet Erewell, Oreford, Dunewic, Jernemue, et Lenn, custodiendam quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ei in omnibus quæ ad dictam marinam pertinent intendentes sitis et respondentes.

" Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, XXX. die Octobris."

" Eodem modo scribitur omnibus de portu de Lenn, portu de Jernemue, portu de Erewell, portu de Dunewic." [a]

TRANSLATION.

" Of the Sea-Coast of Norfolk and Suffolk.

" The King to all men of the sea-coast of Norfolk and Suffolk greeting.—Know ye that we have committed to RICHARD AGUILLUN our sea-coast of Norfolk and Suffolk, with all its appurtenances, to wit, Orwell, Orford, Dunwich, Yarmouth, and Lynn, to keep so long as it shall please us. And therefore we command you, that ye be obedient and respondent to him in all things which to the said sea-coast appertain.

" Witness the King at Westminster, the 30th day of October" [9 Hen. III. 1224.]

" In like manner it is written to all of the port of Lynn, the port of Yarmouth, the port of Orwell, the port of Dunwich."

" De Capitaneo Maritimæ assignato.

" Rex omnibus baronibus et ballivis Quinque Portuum, et omnibus aliis de partibus maritimis, salutem.—Sciatis quod assignavimus di-

[a] Rot. Pat. 9 Hen. III. n. 9.

lectum et fidelem nostrum THOMAM DE MULETON capitaneum et custodem maris et partium maritimarum, et ad naves nostras vino, victualibus, et aliis necessariis muniendas contra hostilem adventum alienigarum in regnum nostrum, prout magis viderit expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Thomæ, tanquam capitaneo et custodi partium illarum, circa præmissa facienda intendentes sitis et auxiliantes.

" Teste ut supra [xxx. die Junii], et sunt patentes." [a]

TRANSLATION.

" Of assigning a Captain of the Sea and Sea-coast.

" The King to all barons and bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, and all others of the sea-coast, greeting.—Know ye that we have assigned our beloved and faithful THOMAS DE MULETON captain and keeper of the sea and sea-coast in the parts aforesaid, and to furnish our ships with wine, victuals, and other necessaries against the hostile approach of aliens to our realm, as may seem most expedient. And therefore we command you that to the same Thomas, as to the captain and keeper of those parts, concerning the premises ye be intendant and aiding.

" Witness as above [the 30th day of June, 48 Hen. III. 1264], and they are patent."

" De Custodia Maritimæ.

" Rex militibus, liberis hominibus, et omnibus aliis existentibus in comitatibus Essex', Norfolk', et Suffolk' pro defensione costeræ maris in partibus illis, salutem.—Sciatis, quod, de consilio baronum nostrorum qui sunt de consilio nostro, assignavimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum THOMAM DE MULETON ad custodiam maris et partium maritimarum in partibus prædictis. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Thomæ, tanquam custodi nostro partium prædictorum, in omnibus quæ ad custodiam illam pertinent intendentes sitis et respondentes, sicut idem Thomas vobis injunget ex parte nostra, ita quod fidelitatem et diligentiam vestram in hac parte merito commendare possimus.

" Teste Rege apud Cant' XXI. die Septembris." [b]

[a] Rot. Patent. 48 Hen. III.

[b] Ibid.

TRANSLATION.

" Of the Custody of the Sea and Sea-coast.

" The King to the knights, freemen, and all others being in the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk for the defence of the sea-coast in those parts, greeting.—Know ye, that, by the advice of our barons who are of our council, we have assigned our beloved and faithful THOMAS DE MULETON to the custody of the sea and sea-coast in the parts aforesaid. And therefore we command you that to the same Thomas, as our keeper of the parts aforesaid, in all things which to that custody appertain ye be intendant and respondent, as the same Thomas shall enjoin you on our behalf, so that we may worthily commend your fidelity and diligence in this matter.

" Witness the King at Canterbury, the 21st day of September " [48 Hen. III. 1264].

EDWARD I.

" De Capitaneo Nautarum constituto.

" Rex &c. universis et singulis vicecomitibus, ballivis, ministris, et fidelibus suis ad quos &c., salutem.—Sciatis quod constituimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum WILLIELMUM DE LEYBURN capitaneum nautarum et marinellorum nostrorum Quinque Portuum et membrorum eorundem, et similiter Jernemuth', Baion', Hiberniæ, Walliæ, et omnium aliorum portuum et locorum in quibus naves seu batelli applicant infra regnum et potestatem nostram, et etiam militum et aliorum fidelium nostrorum qui cum ipso præceptum nostrum en flota navium ipsorum nautarum et marinellorum per partes maritimas et costeras maris contra inimicos nostros sunt profecturi. Ita quod idem capitaneus per se, et alios quos per litteras suas patentes sigillo suo signatas assignare, deputare, et destinare voluerit, capere possint et secum ducere homines idoneos et potentes ad arma, naves, bargias, et batellos, victualia, et alia quæ ad expeditionem eorundem necessaria fuerint; et etiam quod capere possint armaturas, per visum

dicti capitanei, ab illis a quibus idem capitaneus eas viderit capiendas: dum tamen pro hujusmodi victualibus et aliis necessariis quæ ad eorum capitanei nautarum et marinellorum sustentationem sic capta fuerint, satisfaciant illis a quibus ea ceperint juxta rationabile pretium eorundem et de armaturis similiter, vel sufficientem securitatem inveniant de ipsis armaturis restituendis. Et ideo vobis omnibus et singulis mandamus, et in fide qua nobis tenemini præcipimus firmiter injungentes, quod prædicto Willielmo, tanquam capitaneo prædictorum nautarum, marinellorum, militum, et aliorum prædictorum, et aliis quos idem per litteras suas patentes assignaverit et destinaverit, sicut prædictum est in præmissis omnibus et singulis, sitis intendentes, respondentes, auxiliantes, et obedientes, prout vobis scire faciet ex parte nostra. In cujus &c. fieri fecimus patentes quamdiu nobis placuerit duraturas.

" Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, VII° die Junii." [a]

TRANSLATION.

" Of a Captain of the Sailors appointed.

" The King &c. to all and singular his sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers, and faithful servants to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye that we have appointed our beloved and faithful WILLIAM DE LEYBURN captain of our sailors and mariners of the Cinque Ports, and members of the same, and likewise of Yarmouth, Bayonne, Ireland, Wales, and all other ports and places at which ships or boats touch within our realm and power, and also of our knights and other faithful subjects who are about to proceed with him by our command in the fleet of ships of the same sailors and mariners by the maritime parts and sea-coasts against our enemies; so that the same captain by himself, and others whom, by his letters-patent sealed with his seal, he shall assign, depute, and destine, may take and carry with him suitable men strong at arms, ships, barges, and boats, victuals, and other things which may be necessary for the expedition of the same business; and also that they may seize arms, by view of the said captain, from those from whom the captain shall see fit to take them: so nevertheless that they satisfy those from whom they are taken for such victuals and other necessaries which shall be so taken for the maintenance of the

[a] Rot. Vascon. 22 Edw. I. m. 8.

same captain, sailors, and mariners, according to the reasonable value of the same, and in like manner of the arms, or find sufficient security to restore the same arms. And therefore we command you all and singular, and in the faith with which ye are bounden unto us, firmly enjoining that ye be intendant, obedient, respondent, and auxiliant to the aforesaid William, as the captain of the aforesaid sailors, mariners, knights, and others aforesaid and to others whom the said William by his letters patent shall assign and destine as is aforesaid, in all and singular the premises, as he shall make known unto you on our behalf. In testimony whereof &c. we have caused [these our letters] to be made patent during our pleasure.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 7th day of June." [22 Edw. I. 1294.]

"De intendendo Admirallo Flotæ Navium Quinque Portuum.

Rex vicecomitibus, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, salutem.—Sciatis quod constituimus et assignavimus dilectum nobis GERVASIUM ALARD capitaneum et admirallum flotæ nostræ navium Quinque Portuum nostrorum, et etiam omnium aliorum portuum a portu nostro Dovor' per costeram maris versus partes occidentales usque in Cornubiam, ac totius comitatus Cornubiæ, in obsequium nostrum ad partes Scotiæ per præceptum nostrum proficiscentium quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Gervasio, tanquam capitaneo et admirallo nostro flotæ prædictæ, omnibus quæ ad officium capitanei et amiralli pertinent in hac parte intendentes sitis et respondentes, consulentes et auxiliantes, prout idem Gervasius vobis scire faciet ex parte nostra. In cujus &c.

"T. Rege apud Wyndesore, IV^to. die Februarii."

TRANSLATION.

"Of obeying the Admiral of the Fleet of Ships of the Cinque Ports.

"The King to his sheriffs, and bailiffs, and all faithful people to whom these letters shall come, greeting.—Know ye that we have

[a] Rot. Patent. 31 Edw. I. m. 39.

appointed and assigned our beloved GERVASE ALARD captain and admiral of our fleet of the ships of our Cinque Ports, and also of all other ports from the port of Dover by the sea-coast to Cornwall, and of the whole county of Cornwall, to proceed in our service to the Scottish parts by our command, so long as we shall please. And therefore we command you, that ye be obedient and respondent, counselling and aiding, to the same Gervase, as to our captain and admiral of the fleet aforesaid, in all things which unto that office of captain and admiral appertain in this behalf, as the same Gervase shall make known to you on our part. In testimony whereof, &c.

"Witness the King at Windsor, on the 4th day of February [1303.]"

"De Admirallis Flotarum Navium constitutis.

"Rex vicecomitibus, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos &c., salutem.—Sciatis quod constituimus et assignavimus dilectum nobis GERVASIUM ALARD capitaneum et amirallum flotæ nostræ navium Quinque Portuum nostrorum, et etiam omnium aliorum portuum a portu nostro Dovor per costeram maris versus partes occidentales usque in Cornubiam ac totius comitatus Cornubiæ, in obsequium nostrum ad partes Scotiæ per præceptum nostrum proficiscentium quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Gervasio, tanquam capitaneo et admirallo flotæ nostræ prædictæ, in omnibus quæ ad officium capitanei et amiralli pertinent in hac parte intendentes sitis et respondentes, consulentes et auxiliantes, prou tidem Gervasius vobis scire faciet ex parte nostra. In cujus &c.

"Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterum, quinto die Junii, anno" &c.

"Rex vicecomitibus, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos &c., salutem.—Sciatis quod constituimus et assignavimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum EDWARDUM CHARLES capitaneum et amirallum flotæ nostræ navium portuum et villarum ab ore Tamisiæ per costeram maris versus partes borales usque villam nostram de Berewico supere Twedam necnon et ejusdem villæ, in obsequium nostrum ad partes Scotiæ per præceptum nostrum proficiscentium quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Edwardo, tanquam capitaneo et amirallo nostro flotæ prædictæ in omnibus quæ ad offi-

cium capitanei et amiralli pertinent in hac parte intendentes &c., prout idem Edwardus &c. In cujus &c.

"Teste Rex ut supra."

TRANSLATION.

"Of appointed Admirals of the Fleets of Ships.

"The King to his sheriffs, and all bailiffs and faithful subjects to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye that we have appointed and assigned our beloved GERVASE ALARD captain and admiral of our fleet of ships of our Cinque Ports, and also of all other ports from our port of Dover by the sea-coast towards the western parts to Cornwall, and of all the county of Cornwall, to proceed in our service to the Scottish parts by our command, so long as we shall please. And therefore we command you, that ye be obedient and respondent to the same Gervase, as to the captain and admiral of our fleet aforesaid, in all things which to that office of captain and admiral appertain in this behalf, as the same Gervase shall make known unto you on our part. In testimony whereof &c.

"Witness ourself at Westminster, the 5th day of June [1306.]"[a]

"The King to his sheriff, and all bailiffs and good men to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye that we have appointed and assigned our beloved and faithful EDWARD CHARLES captain and admiral of our fleet of ships of ports and towns from the mouth of the Thames by the sea-coast towards the northern parts unto our town of Berwick upon-Tweed, and also of the same town, to proceed in our service to the Scottish parts by our command, so long as we shall please. And therefore we command you, that ye be obedient to the same Edward, as to our captain and admiral of the fleet aforesaid, in all things which to the office of captain and admiral appertain, as he shall make known unto you, &c. In testimony &c.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 5th day of June [1306.]"[b]

"Of the Appointment of the King's Mariners and Ships of Hartlepool and other Ports.

"The King to his beloved WILLIAM LE BETOUR greeting.—Whereas we very much need the aid as well of mariners as of others for the

[a] Rot. Pat. 34 Edw. I. m. 2. [b] Ibid. m. 21.

expedition of our Scottish war, we, especially confiding in your diligence and fidelity, have appointed you our captain of the mariners of our ships of Hartlepool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Berwick-upon-Tweed, and other places between Hartlepool and Aberdeen, in aid of the removal of the siege of our castle of Aberdeen, and manfully to do other things which concern our expedition against the Scots, our enemies and rebels in those parts, as our beloved and faithful Gilbert Petche and . . . . . our chamberlains of Scotland on our part, will more fully enjoin you. And therefore we command you, that, all other things set aside, you attend in all ways hereunto. And we have commanded all and singular the masters of ships and mariners aforesaid, that they be in obedience to you to proceed with you, together with their ships and men well equipt with suitable arms, to execute the premises manfully and stoutly, as and so often as ye shall see fit to command the same mariners. In testimony whereof, &c.

"Witness the King at Windsor, the 18th of July [2 Edw. II. 1308]."[a]

"John de Caunton is appointed Captain and Governor of the Fleet destined to Perth.

"The King to all to whom &c. greeting.—Know ye that we have assigned our beloved and faithful JOHN DE CAUNTON captain and governor of our fleet of ships which we have late ordered to be sent from divers parts of our realm to the town of St. John of Perth, in Scotland, for the defence of the same, and to do those things which may appertain to the grievance of our enemies and rebels in those parts. In testimony whereof, &c.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of June [3 Edw. II. 1310.] "By the King himself."

"And the masters [and] mariners of the fleet of ships which the King has late ordered to be sent from divers parts of the King's realm to the town of St. John of Perth, in Scotland, for the defence of the same town, are commanded to be obedient and responsive to the same John as to the captain and governor of the fleet aforesaid, in all things which to that office appertain as is aforesaid. In testimony whereof, &c.

"Witness as above."[b]

[a] Rot. Scot. i. 55. [b] Ibid. p. 82.

"John of Argyle is appointed Admiral of the Fleet destined to Argyle and the Isles.

"The King to all to whom &c. greeting.—Know ye that we have assigned our beloved and faithful JOHN OF ARGYLE, admiral and captain of our fleet of ships which we have commanded to proceed from divers parts of our realm of England to the coast of Argyle, Inchegall, and other parts of Scotland, to pursue, and with God's aid to restrain our enemies and rebels in the same parts of Scotland. In testimony whereof, &c. To last during our pleasure.

"Witness the King at Berwick, on the 1st day of June [4 Edw. II. 1311], by writ of privy seal."

"And all and singular masters and mariners of the ships of the King's fleet are commanded to be obedient and responsive to the same John, as admiral and captain of the King's fleet aforesaid, in the form aforesaid. In testimony whereof, &c.

"Witness as above, by writ of privy seal."[a]

"Johannes Sturmy et Petrus Bard constituuntur Amiralli Flotæ Navium.

"Rex vicecomitibus, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos &c., salutem.—Sciatis quod constituimus et assignavimus dilectos vallettos nostros JOHANNEM STURMY et PETRUM BARD conjunctim et divisim capitaneos et amirallos flotæ nostræ, tam navium nostrarum propriarum quam aliarum de partibus borealibus quæ in obsequium nostrum per præceptum nostrum ad partes Scotiæ venturæ sunt, quamdiu nobis placuerit; dantes eisdem Johanni et Petro ac eorum alteri plenam potestatem castigandi et puniendi transgressores flotæ navium prædictarum, prout ad officium capitanei et admiralli flotæ hujusmodi pertinet in hac parte. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eisdem Johanni et Petro, tanquam capitaneis et amirallis nostris flotæ prædictæ vel eorum alteri, in omnibus quæ ad officium capitanei et admiralli pertinent in hac parte intendentes sitis et respondentes, consulentes et auxiliantes, prout idem Johannes et Petrus vel eorum alter vobis scire facient vel faciet ex parte nostra. In cujus &c.

"Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, XII^mo^ die Martii.

"Per ipsum Regem."

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 99.

TRANSLATION.

"John Sturmy and Peter Bard are appointed Admirals of the Fleet of Ships.

"The King to his sheriffs, and all bailiffs and faithful subjects to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye that we have appointed and assigned our beloved valets, JOHN STURMY and PETER BARD, jointly and severally captains and admirals of our fleet, as well of our own ships, as of others of the northern parts which are about to proceed in our service by our command to the Scottish parts, so long as it shall please us; giving to the same John and Peter, and either of them, full power of chastising and punishing the transgressors in the fleet of ships aforesaid, as to the office of captain and admiral of such fleet appertaineth in that behalf. And therefore we command you, that ye be obedient and responsive, counselling and aiding, to the same John and Peter, or either of them, as our captains and admirals of our fleet aforesaid, in all things which unto the office of captain and admiral appertain, as the same John and Peter, or either of them, shall make known unto you on our behalf. In testimony whereof, &c.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 12th day of March [7 Edw. II. 1314.] "By the King himself."[a]

"Johannes Buteturt constituitur Admirallus Flotæ orientalis cum Potestate perampla.

"Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus, ballivis, ministris, et fidelibus suis ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, salutem.—Sciatis quod constituimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum JOHANNEM BOTETURT admirallum et capitaneum nautarum et marinellorum nostrorum omnium portuum et locorum in quibus naves seu batelli applicant ab ore Thamisiæ ex parte orientali usque Berewicum super Twedam, et etiam militum et aliorum fidelium nostrorum qui cum ipso Johanne per præceptum nostrum in flota navium ipsorum nautarum et marinellorum per partes maritimas et costeras maris contra Scotos inimicos et rebelles nostros sunt profecturi. Ita quod idem admirallus et capitaneus, per se et alios quos per litteras suas patentes sigillo suo signatas assignare, deputare, et destinari voluerit, capere possint et

[a] Rot. Scot. 1. 115.

secum ducere homines idoneos potentes ad arma, naves, bargeas, et batellos, victualia et alia quæ ad expeditionem eorundem necessaria fuerint; et etiam quod capere possit armaturas, per visum dicti admiralli et capitanei, ab illis a quibus idem admirallus et capitaneus eas viderit capiendas. Dum tamen pro hujusmodi victualibus et aliis necessariis quæ ad eorum admiralli et capitanei nautarum et marinellorum sustentationem sic capta fuerint, satisfaciant illis a quibus ea ceperint juxta rationabile pretium eorundem, et de armaturis similiter vel sufficientem securitatem inveniant de ipsis armaturis restituendis. Et ideo vobis omnibus et singulis mandamus, et in fide qua nobis tenemini præcipimus firmiter injungentis, quod prædicto Johanni, tanquam admirallo et capitaneo prædictorum nautarum, marinellorum, militum, et aliorum prædictorum, et aliis quos idem Johannes per litteras suas patentes assignaverit et destinaverit sicut prædictum est in præmissis omnibus et singulis, sitis intendentes, respondentes, auxiliantes, et obedientes, prout vobis scire faciant ex parte nostra. In cujus &c. Quamdiu nobis placuerit duratur."

" Teste Rege apud Westm', xv. die Marcii."[a]

TRANSLATION.

" John Buteturt is Appointed Admiral of the eastern Fleet, with ample Power.

" The King to all and singular his sheriffs, bailiffs, ministers, and faithful subjects to whom the present letters shall come, greeting.—Know ye that we have appointed our beloved and faithful JOHN BUTETURT admiral and captain of our sailors and mariners of all the ports and places in which ships or boats touch, from the mouth of the Thames, on the eastern side, to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and also of our knights and other faithful subjects who are about to proceed with the same John in the fleet of ships of the same sailors and mariners, by the maritime parts and sea-coasts, against our Scottish enemies and rebels. So that the same admiral and captain, by himself, and by others, whom, by his letters-patent sealed with his seal, he shall assign, depute, and destine, may seize and carry with him proper men potent at arms, ships, barges, and boats, victuals, and other things necessary for the expedition of the same. And also that he may seize arms and armour [" armaturas "], by view of the said admiral and captain, from those from whom the same admiral

[a] Rot. Scot. i. 139.

and captain shall see fit to take them. So, nevertheless, that they satisfy those persons from whom they take them, for such victuals and other necessaries as shall be so taken for the sustenance of the same admiral and captain, sailors and mariners, and as to the arms, that they pay in like manner, or find sufficient security to restore the same arms. And therefore we command you, all and singular, in the faith wherein ye are bounden to us, strictly enjoining, that, in all and singular the premises, ye be intendent, respondent, auxiliant, and obedient to the aforesaid John as admiral and captain of the aforesaid sailors, mariners, knights, and others aforesaid, and others whom the same John, by his letters-patent, shall assign and destine as is aforesaid, as he shall make known unto you in our behalf. In testimony whereof, &c. To last during the King's pleasure.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of March." [8 Edw. II. 1315.]

"John of Argyle is appointed Captain of the Fleet of Ships to be sent against the Scots, and two Admirals are ordered to serve under him.[a]

"The King to whom &c. greeting.—We, having full confidence in the prudence, circumspection, and approved valour of our beloved and faithful JOHN OF ARGYLE, do depute him, by the tenor of the presents, captain of our fleet of ships which we are shortly about to send to the Scottish parts to repress the rebellion of our Scottish enemies and rebels, with the help of God, towards the Isles of Argyle and elsewhere in the same Scottish parts, and also of the men likewise to proceed in the fleet aforesaid. In testimony whereof, &c. To last during our pleasure.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th of March. [8 Edw. II. 1315.] "By the King himself."[b]

"And William de Crey and Thomas de Hewys, admirals of the fleet of the King's ships which the King is shortly about to send to the ports of Argyle and elsewhere in Scotland to repress the rebellion of the King's Scottish enemies and rebels, with God's help, are commanded that they be obedient and responsive to the same John,

[a] "Johannes de Argail constituitur capitaneus flotæ navium mittendæ contra Scotos, et duo admiralli jubentur sub eo merere."

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 139.[a]

as to the captain of the fleet of ships aforesaid, in those things which may appertain to the expedition of the business aforesaid, and the repulse of the King's said Scottish enemies and rebels, as between the aforesaid John and the same admirals, for the honour and advantage of the King, shall seem most expedient. And this that they in no-wise omit.

" Witness as above. " By the King himself."

" And the masters and mariners of those ships are commanded to be obedient and respondent to the same John as to their captain, and doing those things which may appertain to the repulse of the said Scots, &c., as the said John shall enjoin them on the King's behalf.

" Witness as above. " By the King himself."

" William de Creye is appointed Captain and Admiral of the Fleet of the Cinque Ports, &c.

" The King to all to whom &c. greeting.—We, fully confiding in the fidelity and industry of our beloved and faithful WILLIAM DE CREYE, do appoint him, by the presents, our captain and admiral of all our fleet of ships of our Cinque Ports, and of the western parts of England, and the coasts of Ireland and Wales, which we are shortly about to send to the Scottish parts, with God's help to repress the obstinate malice and rancour of our Scottish enemies and rebels, and also of the men in the fleet aforesaid likewise to proceed. In testimony whereof, &c. To last during the King's pleasure.

" Witness the King at Westminster, the 29th day of May [8 Edw. II. 1315.] " By the King himself."

" And the captains and mariners of the ships of the Cinque Ports and the parts aforesaid, to whom &c., are commanded to be obedient and respondent to the same William in all things, as the captain and admiral of the King's fleet aforesaid. In testimony whereof, &c.[a]

" Witness as above."

" William de Creye is appointed Admiral, and John de Argyle Captain, of the Fleet destined against the Scots.

" The King to all and singular masters and mariners of the ships of the Cinque Ports, about to proceed to the Scottish parts in our

[a] Rot. Scot. 1. 144.

service, greeting.—Whereas we, being fully assured of the prudence and approved valour of our beloved and faithful WILLIAM DE CREYE and JOHN DE ARGYLE, have assigned the same William to be admiral of the fleet of our ships which we are shortly about to send to the parts of Argyle and elsewhere in Scotland, to repress the rebellion of our Scottish enemies and rebels with the help of God; and also the aforesaid John to be captain of you and of the fleet aforesaid, and of the men about to proceed in the same fleet as in our letters-patent to the same William and John thereupon made more fully is contained: we command you that ye be obedient and respondent to the same William as admiral, and to the same John as captain, of you and the fleet and men aforesaid, in all things which may appertain to the expedition of the business aforesaid, as the same William and John shall make known unto you on our part. And this in nowise omit.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 3rd day of June [8 Edw II. 1315.] "By the King himself."[a]

"John de Athy is appointed Captain of Eleven Ships.

"The King to his beloved and faithful JOHN DE ATHY greeting.—Know ye that we have appointed you captain and leader of eleven ships of our city of Bristol and the ports adjacent, and also of mariners and other armed men who go forth in the same ships in our service to the Scottish parts, with God's help to repress the obstinate malice of our Scottish enemies and rebels. So, namely, that you and the men and mariners aforesaid be in obedience to our beloved and faithful William de Creye, whom we have late appointed chief admiral of all the ships of the western parts of our realm, to proceed in our service to the said parts of Scotland so often and as the same William shall make known to you on your behalf. And therefore we command you that you be attentive to execute the premises in the form aforesaid. In testimony whereof, &c. To last during the King's pleasure.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 3rd day of July [8 Edw. II. 1315.] "By the King himself."[b]

"King Edward appoints Admirals or an Admiral of the Ships to be sent against the Scots towards the southern parts.

"The King to all to whom &c. greeting.—Know ye that whereas we send certain ships in our service towards the southern parts to

[a] Rot. Scot. i. 144. [b] Ibid. p. 146.

repress with the help of God the malice and rebellion of our Scottish enemies and rebels, we, confiding in the fidelity and industry of our beloved SIMON DE DRIBY, WILLIAM DE THEWELL, and ROBERT ASHMAN, have appointed the same Simon, William, and Robert, two and one of them, admirals and captains of the said ships and the men about to proceed in the same ships so long as we shall please. In testimony whereof, &c. ''

"Witness the King at York, on the 23rd day of May [12 Edw. II. 1319.] "By the King himself."[a]

VII.

COPIES AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE KING'S MANDATES FOR IMPRESSING SHIPS AND MEN, AND OF OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE NAVY.

"Rex &c. hominibus Gernemueæ, Luthingeland, Beccles, et Orford, &c.—Sciatis quod communi consilio baronum nostrorum liberavimus galias nostras per marinam Angliæ. Et provisum est quod duas galias vobis liberemus ad existendas in servicio nostro usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis, anno &c. septimo. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eligatis duos magistros rectores ad eas regendas, et duos alios qui superiorem curam inde habeant, de quibus omnibus plene confidatis et quorum plegii esse volueritis quod fideliter nobis servient. Et præterea provideatis septies xx. probos marinellos ad eas ducendas. Et mittatis apud London sufficientem gentem ita quod sint apud London a die clausi Paschæ proximo præteriti in xv. dies, qui recipiant illas duas galias, et liberari faciemus eis ibi centum marcas ad opus eorum qui galias illas ducent. Et insuper concedimus eis medietatem lucrorum suorum quæ facient super inimicos nostros. Et in hujus rei &c.

"Teste domino Cantuariensi apud Dover XVIII. die Aprilis, per eundem et per justiciarios."[b]

[a] Rot. Scot. i. 194. [b] Rot. Pat. 6 John, 18 Apr. 1205.

TRANSLATION.

"The King, &c. to the men of Yarmouth, Luthingeland, Beccles, and Orford, &c.—Know ye, that, by the common counsel of our barons, we have delivered our galleys by the sea-coast of England. And it is provided that we deliver two galleys to you to be in our service unto the feast of St. Michael, in the seventh year, &c. And therefore we command you that ye elect two "master rectors" to direct them, and two others who shall have the superior care thereof; of all whom ye shall be fully confident, and whose pledges ye shall be willing to be, that they serve us faithfully. And, moreover, ye shall provide seven score good mariners to conduct them; and send to London sufficient people, so that they may be at London from the Sunday after Easter next past in fifteen days, who shall receive those two galleys; and we will cause to be there delivered to them one hundred marks for their use who conduct those galleys. And, moreover, we grant them the moiety of their gains which they shall make upon their enemies. And in testimony hereof, &c.

"Witness the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, at Dover, the 18th day of April, by the same, and by the justiciaries."

"Rex &c. constabulario Suhamton, et Waltero Fortin, et Willielmo de Langetot, salutem. — Præcipimus vobis, quod, statim visis litteris istis, sicut nos et honorem nostrum et pacem regni nostri et vos et vestra diligitis, cum omni festinatione, sine aliqua occasione vel dilatione, eatis ad portus Suhamton' et Portesmuw' et Kihaven' et Cristecherch' et Eremeuw', et ad alios portus ballivæ vestræ; et retineatis omnes naves ad opus nostrum idoneas ad transfretandas quæ possint portare octo equos vel plures, et faciatis eschipare bonis marinellis ad liberationes nostras, et faciatis eas venire apud Portesmuw', ita quod, omni occasione postposita, sint ibi vigilia Pentecost', vel citius, si aliquo modo fieri possit. Et provideatis quod in qualibet navi sint pontes et cleiæ, et memorata faciatis imbreviare nomina eorum, quorum naves fuerint, et quot marinelli sint in qualibet navi et quot equos quælibet navis rationabiliter possit portare, et si aliqua navis carcata fuerit aliquibus mercandiis vel aliis rebus, statim faciatis eam discarcare et venire in servicium nostrum ad liberationem nos-

tram, ut prædictum est. Et eadem hora qua litteras nostras susceperitis, mittatis separatim in quemlibet portum bonos nuncios die et nocte ad afforestandas naves et ad faciendum negotium istud loco vestro, quo vos ipsi in propriis personis venire non poteritis. Et adeo diligenter hoc negotium exequamini, ne pro defectu vestri simus in aliquo perdentes. Et bene faciatis intelligere omnibus hominibus cujuslibet portus, quod si negotium istud non exequantur sicut præceperitis, ad nullum nisi ad ipsos inde nos capiemus. Et faciatis nobis habere scriptum de omnibus quæ feceritis in negotio isto die Dominica proxima post Ascensionem Domini apud London, et has litteras retineatis in warrantum.

" Teste Galfrido Comite Essex' ap Lamh' XXIX. die Aprilis." [a]

TRANSLATION.

" The King to the constable of Southampton, and Walter Fortin, and William de Langetot, greeting.—We command you, that, forthwith on view of these letters, as ye love our honour and the peace of our realm, and yourselves and yours, with all haste, without any occasion or delay, ye go to the ports of Southampton and Portsmouth and Kehaven and Christchurch, and Eremeuw, and other ports of your bailiwick, and retain all ships for our use fit to cross over, which can carry eight horses or more, and cause them to be shipped with good mariners at our liveries, and cause them to come to Portsmouth, so that, all occasion postponed, they may be there on the eve of Pentecost, or sooner if it can in any wise be done. And provide that in each ship there be bridges and cleyes; and cause to be enrolled the names of those whose ships they are, and how many mariners are in each ship, and how many horses each ship can reasonably carry; and if any ship be laden with any merchandise or other things, cause it to be forthwith unladen, and to come into our service at our livery as is aforesaid. And the same hour in which ye shall receive our letters, send severally to each port good messengers day and night "*ad afforestandas naves*," and to do this business in your place whither ye yourselves cannot go in your own persons. And so diligently execute this business, that we be not losers in aught through your default; and make it well understood by all the men of every port, that, if they do not execute this business as ye shall command, we will betake ourself to no one but to them therein. And cause us to have writing

[a] Rot. Pat. 29 Apr. 1206, 7 John.

of all things which ye shall do in this business on the Sunday next after the Ascension of our Lord at London, and retain these letters for warrant.

"Witness Geoffrey Earl of Essex, at Lambeth, the 29th day of April."

"Rex baronibus suis de Sandwico, Duvr', Heia, Rumenel, Wincheles', Ria, Hastinges, Peveneseye, et omnibus fidelibus suis de Quinque Portubus, &c.—Mandamus vobis, quod, sicut vos et vestra et honorem nostrum et pacem nostram diligitis, statim visis litteris istis, eligatis de melioribus, et validioribus hominibus portuum vestrorum, et qui bene sint armati, ad eskippandas galias nostras, sicut dilectus et fidelis noster Willielmus de Wrotham archiadiaconus Tanton' vobis ex parte nostra dixerit, ad custum nostrum et ad negotium nostrum. Ne pro defectu vestri in aliquo impediatur.

"Teste Galfrido filio Petri apud Merleberg' XVII° die Martii, anno regni nostri IX°."

"Sub eadem forma scribitur ballivis præpositis, et omnibus fidelibus suis de Seford', Soram, Cicestr', Portesmuh', et Suhamton."[a]

TRANSLATION.

"The King to his barons of Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Winchelsea, Rye, Hastings, Pevensey, and all his faithful subjects of the Cinque Ports, &c.—We command you, that, as ye love yourselves and yours, and our honour and peace, forthwith, upon view of these letters, ye select of the best and strongest men of your ports, and who shall be well armed, to man our galleys, as our beloved and faithful William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, shall tell you on our behalf, at our cost and for our business; and let it not be hindered in aught for your default.

"Witness Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, at Marlborough, the 17th day of March, in the 9th year of our reign."

"Under the same form it is written to the bailiffs, reeves, and all his faithful subjects of Seaford, Shoreham, Chichester, Portsmouth, and Southampton."

[a] Rot. Pat. 17 Mar. 1208, 9 John.

" Rex præpositis et omnibus fidelibus suis de Sorham &c.—Præcipimus vobis, quod, sicut vos et vestra et pacem regni nostri diligitis, statim visis litteris istis, præcipiatis ex parte nostra omnibus hominibus qui naves habent in villa vestra imbreviatas ad servicium nostrum per juratam vestram captam ibidem per præceptum nostrum, quod habeant eas, cum omnibus necessariis atteuiriamentis quæ ad navem pertinent, sufficienter eskipatas bonis et probis marinellis, in die Sancti Mathiæ Apostoli apud Portesmuh ituras in servicium nostrum, et recepturas liberationes nostras a die quo recedent a portu vestro quamdiu fuerint in servicio nostro. Et sciatis quod nisi negotium istud quod spectat ad juris nostri perquisitionem et coronæ nostræ exaltationem perficiatur sicut præcepimus; nos inde ad vos capiemus sicut ad inimicos nostros; et vos præpositi cum duobus de discretioribus et ditioribus hominibus villæ vestræ habeatis apud Portesmuh' in crastino Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis coram nobis, vel loco nostro attornatis has litteras nostras patentes ostensuri quid inde actum fuerit, et responsuri imbreviamentis factis de navibus villæ vestræ per præfatam juratam.

" Teste Galfrido filio Petri apud Beckel' XVII. die Julii, anno regni nostri x°."

" Sub eadem forma scribitur hominibus de aliis portubus." [a]

TRANSLATION.

" The King to his reeves and all his faithful people of Shoreham, &c.—We command you, that, as ye love yourselves and yours and the peace of our realm, forthwith, on view of these letters, ye command, on our behalf, all men who have ships in your town, enrolled for our service by your jury taken there by our command, that they have them, with all the necessary attire which belongs to a ship, sufficiently manned with good and true mariners, on the day of St. Mathew the Apostle, at Portsmouth, to go into our service and to receive our liveries from the day on which they leave your port, so long as they shall be in our service. And know ye, that, unless this business which belongs to the acquisition of our right and the exaltation of our crown be performed as we have commanded, we shall betake ourselves unto you as to our enemies; and ye, reeves, with two of the more discreet and wealthy men of your town, have at Portsmouth on the morrow of the

[a] Rot. Pat. 17 Jul. 1208, 10 John.

Exaltation of the Holy Cross, before us or our attorneys, these our letters-patent, to show what shall have been done therein, and to answer to the enrolments made of ships of your town by the aforesaid jury.

"Witness Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, at Beckel, the 17th day of July, in the 10th year of our reign."

"Under the same form it is written to the men of other ports."

"Rex Galfrido filio Petri salutem.—Mandamus vobis, quod, statim visis litteris istis, cum omni festinatione venire faciatis apud Portesmuth omnes naves de balliva vestra, et illas quæ aliunde illuc venerint, quæ possint portare sex equos vel plures, ituras in servicium nostrum, sicut alias præcepimus; non obstante ultimo mandato nostro quod vobis fecimus, ne aliquam navem transfretare permitteritis, de quacunque terra esset, nisi per speciales litteras nostras. Has &c.

"Teste Rege apud Waltham episcopi xxv. die Martii."

"Eodem modo scribitur omnibus ballivis portuum."[a]

TRANSLATION.

"The King to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter greeting.—We command you, that, immediately on view of these letters, with all haste ye cause to come at Portsmouth all the ships of your bailiwick, and those which shall come thither from other places, which can carry six horses or more, to go into our service, as we have elsewhere commanded; notwithstanding our last mandate which we made to you not to permit any ship to cross over, from whatsoever land it may come, except by our especial letters. These &c.

"Witness the King at Bishop's Waltham, the 25th day of March [14 John, 1213]."

"In the same manner it is written to all bailiffs of ports."

"Rex majori de Lenn' &c.—Mandamus vobis, quod, accepta securitate de quolibet qui navem habeat in portu vestro qui de villa vestra sit, quod non divertent cum navibus vel mercandisis suis ad inimicos nostros vel terram nobis inimicam, illos cum navibus et mercandisis suis quo voluerint ire permittatis.

"Teste me ipso apud Heingham xxviii. die Martii."[b]

[a] Rot. Claus. i. 133. [b] Ibid. p. 270.

"Rex baronibus suis de Rya salutem.—Mandamus vobis, quod, in fide qua nobis tenemini, et sicut omnia vestra diligitis, statim visis litteris istis, omni dilatione et occasione postpositis, venire faciatis usque in os Tamisiæ omnes naves quæ in receptione litterarum istarum in portu vestro inventæ fuerint, et in eis quatuor de melioribus hominibus villæ vestræ, qui distincte et aperte nobis scire faciant quot naves illuc venerint et quales et quorum sint; et de illis navibus quæ ad præsens in portu vestro inventæ non fuerint, et de villa vestra sint, similiter nobis scire faciant quorum illæ fuerint et quot et quo ierint. Faciatis etiam omnes naves quæ post susceptionem litterarum illarum in portum vestrum venerint in os Tamisiæ sine dilatione transmitti, numerum illarum et quorum fuerint nobis significantis.

"Teste me ipso apud Rading XIIIo die Aprilis."

"Eodem modo scribitur baronibus de Gernemue, &c. [and twenty other ports]."[a]

TRANSLATION.

"The King to the mayor of Lynn, &c.—We command you, that, taking security of each person who is of your port who hath a ship in your port that he will not proceed with his ship or merchandises to our enemies, or any land inimical to us, ye permit them with their ships and merchandises to go whither they will.

"Witness ourself at Heingham the 28th day of March [17 John, 1216]."

"The King to his barons of Rye greeting.—We command you, that, in the faith in which ye are bounden unto us, and as ye love all yours, that, forthwith on sight of these letters, all delay and occasion set aside, ye cause to come to the mouth of the Thames all the ships which on the receipt of these letters shall be found in your port, and in them four of the best men of your town, who shall distinctly and openly make known unto us how many ships come thither, and of what sort, and whose they are; and concerning those ships which are not at present in your port, and are of your town, likewise make known unto us whose they are, and how many and whither they are gone. Cause also all ships which shall come into your port after the receipt of these letters to be transmitted to the mouth of the Thames without delay, signifying to us their number and whose they are.

"Witness ourself at Reading the 13th day of April."

"In the same manner it is written to the barons of Yarmouth, and twenty other ports."

[a] Rot. Claus. I. 270.

" Rex vicecomiti Cantiæ &c.—Præcipimus tibi, quod, sicut corpus tuum et honorem nostrum diligis, statim visis litteris istis, in propria persona tua eas usque Sandwicum, et ibi unam bonam navem et fortem statim bene parari facias, et muniri bonis cleiis et pontibus, ad eundem in servitium nostrum et morandum quo ibit quamdiu nobis placuerit; et in eadem navi poni facias copiam gubernatorum et aliorum bonorum marinellorum qui bene sciant costeram Flandriæ et de Aumvers et partium illarum: quam quidem navem sic paratam per omnia sicut prædiximus liberari facias præsentium latoribus ad opus nunciorum nostrorum qui transfretaturi sunt in nuncium nostrum, et custum quod ad hoc posueris computabitur tibi ad scaccarium.

" Teste Rege apud Westmonasterum IV^to^ die Januarii."[a]

TRANSLATION.

" The King to the sheriff of Kent &c.—We command thee, that, as thou lovest thy body and our honour, forthwith, on view of these letters, thou go in thy proper person to Sandwich, and there cause a good and strong ship immediately to be got ready and furnished with good cleys and bridges, to go into our service and to remain where it shall go during our pleasure; and in the same ship cause to be put plenty of steersmen and other good mariners, who well know the coast of Flanders and Antwerp, and those parts: and which said ship so prepared in all things as aforesaid cause to be delivered to the bearers of the presents for the use of our messengers who are about to cross over on our message, and the cost which thou shalt lay out thereupon shall be accounted for to you at the Exchequer.

" Witness the King at Westminster the 4th day of January [9 Hen. III. 1225.]"

" Rex ballivis portus Dovr' salutem. — Præcipimus vobis quod omnes naves portus vestri et quæ in portu vestro inventæ sunt ibidem retineatis, et omnes alias naves de portu vestro quæ alibi sunt statim visis litteris istis revocari faciatis; ita quod omnes sint in portu vestro a die Paschæ in xv. dies, promptæ de die et nocte ire in servitium nostrum quo præceperimus.

" Teste me ipso apud Sanctum Edmundum XV° die Aprilis, anno regni nostri decimo."

" Eodem modo scribitur ballivis portuum Winchelsea, Hee, Sand-

[a] Rot. Claus. II. 11.

wich, Rya, et Hastinges, ad eundem die; et Ricardo Aguillun, custodi portuum Norfolk' et Suffolk', de omnibus navibus portuum ballivæ suæ a die Paschæ in tres septimanas." [a]

TRANSLATION.

"The King to the bailiffs of the port of Dover greeting.—We command thee that thou retain all the ships of your port and those which are found in your port, and cause all other ships of your port which are elsewhere immediately on view of these letters to be recalled; so that they be all in your port from Easter in fifteen days, ready to go by night and day into our service whither we shall command.

"Witness ourself at St. Edmund the 15th day of April, in the tenth year of our reign [1226]."

"In the same manner it is written to the bailiffs of the ports of Winchelsea, Hythe, Sandwich, Rye, and Hastings, for the same day; and to Richard Aguillun, custos of the ports of Norfolk and Suffolk for all ships of the ports of his bailiwick from Easter in three weeks."

"Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis ballivis et probis hominibus de Dovr' salutem.—Mandamus vobis, quod, omni dilatione et occasione postpositis, omnes naves portus Dovr' venire faciatis usque Portesmuth cum primo vento ad hoc oportuno; ita quod ad tardius ubi sint die Dominica proxima post Ascensionem Domini promptæ, et paratæ ad eundum in servicium nostrum quo præceperimus.

"Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium VIII^mo die Maii."

"Eodem modo scribitur ballivis &c. Pole [and twenty other ports]."

TRANSLATION.

"The King to his beloved and faithful bailiffs and good men of Dover greeting.—We command you, that, all delay and occasion postponed, ye cause all the ships of the port of Dover to come to Portsmouth with the first fair wind; so that at the latest they be there on the Sunday next after the Ascension of our Lord, ready to go into our service whither we shall command.

"Witness the King at Westminster the 8th day of May [10 Hen. III. 1226.]"

[a] Rot. Claus. II. 150.

"In the same manner it is written to the bailiffs &c. of Poole, and twenty other places."

"Rex ballivis portus de Rumenal salutem.—Mandamus vobis quod non permittatis quod aliqua navis quæ sit in portu vestro exeat a portu vestro sine speciale mandato nostro; sed scire faciatis omnibus illis de villa vestra qui naves habent in portu vestro, quod naves suæ promptæ sint ad eundum in servicium nostrum ad mandatum nostrum.

"Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxx° die Novembris."

"Eodem modo scribitur ballivis portus Gipewic', &c. [and eighteen other ports]."

TRANSLATION.

"The King to the bailiffs of the port of Romney.—We command you that ye permit not that any ship which may be in your port issue from your port without our especial mandate; but make known unto all those of your town who have ships in your port, that their ships be ready to go into our service at our command.

"Witness the King at Westminster the 30th day of November [11 Hen. III. 1226]."

"In the same manner it is written to the bailiffs of the port of Ipswich, &c. [and eighteen other ports]."

"Of selecting Mariners for King Edward's Ships.

"The King to his sheriffs and bailiffs and all his faithful people, as well within liberties as without, to whom &c., greeting.—Whereas we send our beloved John Sturmy, master of our ship which is called the 'Christopher of Westminster,' and Richard Arketil with the same ship to the Scottish parts to pursue and with all their strength attack our enemies and rebels in the same parts as more fully is enjoined to them by us; we have given to the same John and Richard, and either of them, power to select, as well within the liberties as without, in the parts to which they or either of them may chance to proceed, men, mariners, and others, 'defensibles' and powerful at arms for the defence of the same ship, as shall seem most expedient for our honour. And therefore we command you all and singular, strictly enjoining

[a] Rot. Claus. II. 205.

that ye be obedient, counselling and aiding the same John and Richard and either of them in the selection of men and mariners aforesaid, for the defence of the ship aforesaid, when they or either of them shall chance to come to your parts for this cause, when and so often as you shall be by them required thereupon by them or either of them on our behalf. In testimony whereof, &c. To last until the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next to come.

"Witness &c. as above, 12th March, [7 Edw. II. 1314].

"By the King himself."

"Similar letters were sent to the masters of the King's ships 'Isabel of Westminster,' the 'Blessed Mary of Westminster,' the 'St. Michael of Westminster,' and the 'Leonard.'"

"Safe-conduct for the Ship called the 'Seynte-Mari-bot,' and the Men in her.

"The King to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects to whom, &c.—Whereas our beloved merchant Anthony de Pessaing hath sent John le Fraunseys, his servant, in our certain ship called 'Seyntemaribot,' laden with victuals by the same Anthony provided for our use, towards the Scottish parts, for the sustenance of us and our faithful subjects who are about to proceed for the expedition of our Scottish war; we command you that ye offer not, nor suffer to be offered as far as in you lies from others, any injury, molestation, damage, impediment, or aggrievance to the same John and his men being in the same ship in going to the said parts, there tarrying, and thence returning, in their persons or goods, nor take any of the men or mariners being in the said ship against the will of the same John; and if any thing be forfeit of them, cause ye it to be amended to them without delay.

"In testimony whereof &c. To last unto the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula next to come.

"Witness the King at Beverley, the 27th day of April, [7 Edw. II. 1314]."[a]

"Of arresting Ships and selecting Mariners for the Scottish Expedition.

"The King to his beloved clerkes John de Merton and Robert de Halewell, greeting.—Whereas it is necessary for us to have a subsidy

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 125.

of shipping for our instant expedition against Scotland, to repress the malice of our enemies with the help of God; we have assigned you jointly and severally to arrest and take the greater and better ships which can be found in the ports of Bristol, Chepstow, Bridgewater, Exeter, Exmouth, Teignmouth, Dartmouth, Sutton, Plymouth, Loo, Fowy, Barnstaple, Ilfracombe, and other maritime parts adjacent, and to select mariners who are stout and strong at arms equipt with fitting arms to proceed in the ships abovesaid; so that the men and ships aforesaid be ready and prepared at Dublin as soon as possible, to proceed thence at our wages with the fleet of our ships as shall then be more enjoined them on our part against our enemies aforesaid. And therefore we command you, that ye do and complete the premises in the form aforesaid. For we have commanded our sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, good men, and ministers whomsoever, as well within the liberties as without, in whose bailiwicks, towns, and other places in which any ships happen to be found, that they be in obedience to you to execute the premises, as and so often as on our part ye shall make known unto them. In testimony whereof &c.

"Witness the King at York, the 12th day of May [7 Edw. II. 1314.]"[a]

"Of arresting Ships in Bristol, and selecting a double Shipment of Men for them.

"The King to the Sheriff of London, and all his bailiffs, ministers, and faithful people, as well within the liberties as without, to whom the present letters shall come, greeting.—Whereas for the expedition of our Scottish war, and to repress and restrain the malice and rebellion of our Scottish enemies and rebels, we very much need a naval subsidy; we have assigned our beloved clerk, Alexander le Couvert, to arrest and provide for the aforesaid expedition fourteen sufficient ships in the port of the city of Bristol, and to select 'defensible' men, as well mariners as others, for the equipment of the ships aforesaid, so that each of the ships aforesaid shall be provided with a double shipment of men, and that those ships so furnished be got ready with all speed to proceed at our wages in our service aforesaid. We command you, that in the premises ye be obedient, counselling and aiding to the aforesaid Alexander so often and when by him on our

[a] Rot. Scot. 1. 126.

part ye shall thereunto be required; and this do by all means as ye love us, and our honour and the expedition of the business aforesaid. In testimony &c.

"Witness the King at Westminster, the 28th day of May, 1315.

"By the King himself in Council."[a]

"The King of England thanks John of Argyle.

"The King to his beloved and faithful John of Argyle, greeting.—We worthily in sincere affection commending the constancy and laborious solicitude of your fidelity which you have efficaciously rendered, and as yet in these days do render in our service in the repulsion of our enemies in the Scottish parts, return you especial thanks therefore, and, when we shall see fitting opportunity, will, God willing, cause your labour and diligence to be so rewarded that you shall hold yourself well content; earnestly requesting, that, as you have manfully began the same, so that you will apply all possible diligence and care efficaciously for the persecution of our said enemies and the defence of our and your lands in those parts. For we have caused the sailors and mariners in your company by our letters which we send you, (as you requested us by your letters,) that in the present winter they tarry in your company, and be in obedience and attendance in all things. For we have commanded our Treasurer of Ireland by our writ, which we likewise send to you, that he transmit to you in those parts victuals and money for the sustenance of you and others staying in your company, as you shall make known to him, and as shall seem fit to his discretion. And write unto us as often as conveniently you can of the news of those parts and of other matters with which you shall see fit to acquaint us.

"Witness the King at London, the 12th day of October, [5 Edw. II. 1311.]"

The King of England thanks the Sailors in the Company of John de Argyle, and commands them to prosecute the war during the winter.

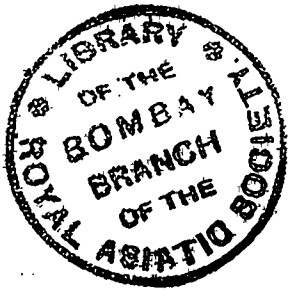
"The King to his beloved sailors and mariners of England and Ireland staying in our service in the company of our beloved and faithful John of Argyle, greeting.—The aforesaid John, your Captain,

[a] Rot. Scot. i. 144.

hath informed us by his letters that you have laboured and also at present do labour with diligence for the repulse of our enemies in the Scottish parts, wherefore we return to you and each of you many thanks, firmly enjoining you in the faith in which ye are bound unto us, that during the instant winter ye tarry in the company of the aforesaid John in the said parts for the repulse of our said enemies, and for the defence and safety of the parts aforesaid, obeying and manfully and studiously attending to the aforesaid John as your Captain in all things which pertain to the premises, so that we may worthily commend your diligence and labour. For we have commanded our Treasurer of Ireland to transmit, without delay, to those parts money and victuals for the sustenance of you and our other faithful subjects.

"Witness as above, 12th October, [5 Edw. II. 1311.] And they were patent."[a]

[a] Rot. Scot. i. 107.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ERRATA.

Page 29, line 31, *for* " he," *read* " but."
„ 57, „ 28, *for* " haens," *read* " havens."
„ 100, „ 2, *for* " Henry," *read* " William,"
„ 115, „ 25, *for* " other," *read* " many."
„ 130, Note " b." *read* Rot. Pat. 7 John, p. 85, Rot. Claus. p. 270.
„ 131, Note " f," *for* " Ibid." *read* " Rot. Claus."
„ 219, line 25, *for* " 20th," *read* " 16th."
„ 271, „ 25, *dele* " It."

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